



IN THIS ISSUE:

*Sterilization of
Native Women and
Experimentation
on Native Children:
Genocide By Scalpel*

*Alaska Claims Act:
Another Broken
Treaty? More
Pipelines Coming*

*Cheyenne & Crow
Pay for America's
Energy Habit*

*poems
essays
letters
poster
resources*

*Brazil's People
Intensify
Resistance In
Amazon*



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES



HOW IT IS WITH US

They are sitting all around me — proof-reading, doing lay-out, making last-minute changes.

Before me, there is a space on a page with this headline: "How It Is With Us".

I am supposed to fill it.

"You have an hour," Doug says.

I suppose this is typical of "how it is with us."

Let's see. Today was warm. The snow began to melt.

I caught glimpses of it through the window while writing an article against deadline. I missed the deadline anyway. I missed the day.

Wilkie's sister and a friend were visiting today. The house was beginning to look like a dump. The woodpile was extinguished. They cleaned up the house and got in some wood.

Edmund came by. He has been cutting logs for cabin-building. He spends most

of his time in the woods. I seem to spend a lot of time inside.

"Youse that do that writing are looking so glum," he says. "Should do like I do — stay in the woods." He laughs. "We'd have a better community."

I think maybe he is right.

Now I am at Emmy's trailer.

To get here we walked a couple of different trails through the woods. That was refreshing.

Here I stare at paper again. Around me everybody has a piece of paper in their hand.

I read for a while. The Brazilian stuff — very good. There is a long overdue article on Native Americans in prison. Once again, the sterilization of Native women. Strong words, necessary words. Tomorrow, after a night's sleep, they'll make even more sense. I go into town tomorrow. I'll see all the evidence I need how the monster works to fragment us.

Now it is late. I think I'll ride back to my cabin, take the two-mile walk back through the woods. What the hell is that Edmund talking about anyway? He wouldn't even be here if he hadn't read the paper.

The phone rings. Dorothy answers it. She goes back to her chair.

"I lost a page," she says. I watch her.

Doug is doing lay-out. His eyes are red and bleary. "You lost a page," he says, matter-of-factly.

"I had it just a minute ago," Dorothy says. "I know I had it in my hand when the phone rang."

She stands there scratching her head with her pen.

"You know what I'd do," Doug asks, without looking up. "I'd tell Jose about it. Maybe he'll put it in 'How It Is With Us'."

And how is it with you? Could you let us know? Do you believe this column?

— Jose

P.S. It's all true.

— The typesetter.



Will We Miss You When You're Gone?

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. Going home for the summer? Let us know. If you're not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than \$700 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. So please — write BEFORE you move!



With the 50th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, we announced the establishment of a building fund to create a permanent home for AKWESASNE NOTES. While we're happy and not complaining, our present two-cabins and a house-trailer are really not adequate to publish a newspaper, ship books and posters, and all the other work we have — not to mention that we have to live there as well.

We set a goal of \$1 per copy of NOTES printed, which seemed like a reasonable amount — \$85,000 to be gathered in over a period of several years. We gratefully acknowledge receipt of nearly \$600 since the last issue was printed, making our total \$7,082.62.

We are cutting spruce logs ourselves to help with this work. This summer, we hope to construct one building long enough to use for shipping AKWESASNE NOTES and posters, and to warehouse our books. We also hope to construct a number of simple cabins, yurts, lean-tos, caves, and such for ourselves to live in.

We invite the readers of AKWESASNE NOTES to participate with us in this work by sending a special contribution marked "Building Fund" for depositing in a special account until construction begins.



REVIEWS

The prestigious *Wilson Library Bulletin* February, 1977, issue has published a review of AKWESASNE NOTES, which says, among other things, "Its consistent quality, political prominence, and wide circulation make it an obvious first choice for all public, academic, and high school libraries."

It might be a good time for readers in each city to phone up high schools, colleges, and public librarians, ask them to check page 482 of the *Wilson Library Bulletin* for February, and send \$5 to AKWESASNE NOTES for a subscription.

That not only helps NOTES with funds for printing and postage, but it will see that the newspaper is available to students and community people.



NEEDED FOR NOTES

- pheasant tail feathers
- ostrich plumes
- mitts
- blankets
- wash clothes
- splitting wedges
- towels and wash cloths
- office supplies: clips, staples, markers
- warm socks, boots
- baby clothes and high chair
- flashlights
- used large thermal glass patio doors
- back-pack firefighting pumps
- used rugs and canvas
- garden seeds
- zoom lens for Canon FT camera
- cast iron pots & pans; crocks
- canning jars
- tools: hammers, saws, planes, adz, log-carriers
- a good buy or gift of a tractor
- draft horse
- used file cabinets, especially for 5x8 cards
- 3x5 cards
- 35mm camera black & white film



[The staff of AKWESASNE NOTES are volunteers. Contributions to the newspaper go entirely to cover printing and postage costs. Readers' help to make the staff comfortable and efficient and capable is sincerely appreciated, since full-time staff do not have the opportunity to work privately to gain these things for themselves.]

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH THE LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Susie Boots, Katsitsiakwa, Elmer, Medicine Story & Emmy, Jose Barreiro, Bob & Cheryl Antone, Sotsisowah, Edmund Francis, Skahetate, Wilkie, Clayton & Margaret Brascoupe, Kaientares, plus friends and helpers like Kaneweienton, Kahratohen & Ma Boots, Kawisokwas, Jake Boots, Jayne George, Dean George, Paul Sargent, Marge Stevens, Doug & Connie Bradway, Hal Malmud, Um Boots, David & Darnell Richmond, Kathy, Barry, and Wendy Montour; Kathy & Heidi Jock, Kanoharoton, Raosennawane, Katsitsiahawi, Marty Jock, Ellen, Tehotahonnihatie, Anonsowenrate, Danny White, Soterakwen, Tommy Cree, Kevin Cree, Jerome Diabo, Happy Laughing, Matthew & Emory Herne, Teresa & Doris Burns, Lucy Wolfe, Ed Burns, Jonny Lerner, and many, many more.

WHEN YOU'RE DONE READING THIS NEWSPAPER

We ask our readers to help us in our responsibilities. Trees were cut to make this paper. We value their gift, and we try to use it well. Keep the paper moving — give it to a friend who might like to read it. Save it for future reference or study. Donate it to a library or school. If you must discard it, try to recycle it, or use it for some purpose. Thank you.

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at your address label on this paper. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive UNLESS WE HEAR FROM YOU. We hope you will understand — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often, since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although this might be a good time to renew your support.

This month, red-labels will appear for Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, also for the Prairie Provinces of Canada, and parts of Europe.



The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be published in early June. Material should be here by May 15, if possible, with a further deadline for late news of June 10. Funds permitting, health and strength holding, planting time going well, we'll have another paper to you then.



AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTBIDGE DRUMS

ISSN: 0002-3949

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).

Member: American Indian Press Association and Alternate Press Syndicate.

AKWESASNE NOTES is indexed in the Alternate Press Index. This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.

AKWESASNE NOTES is published five times annually: March, May, July, September, and December. It is published by Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne and in the Adirondack Mountains, and on the northside of the reservation at Route 3, Cornwall, Ontario.

Second class postage paid at Hogsburg, New York 13655 and additional entry at Massena, New York 13662.

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation

via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

telephone (518) 483-2540

PLEASE NOTE NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER!

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price — but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs well over \$5,000, and rising postage costs will come to about \$2,000. Then there are typewriters, ribbons, glue, supplies — and that doesn't include costs of bare maintenance for full-time staff. We are not funded by universities, foundations, government, etc.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as \$1, \$5, \$10. Some people have lots of money, others have none — we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated. Write:

Dorothy Thomas
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you the human beings who read these words. There are many ways — responsibilities, actually — readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

— take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

— send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Philadelphia? Ashville? Miami? Milwaukee? Albuquerque? Portland? Edmonton? Kenora? Helsinki? Melbourne?

— send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

— take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

— send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

— sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

— Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

— form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write — or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared — and to you all, we are grateful.

— let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms (\$4.60 and \$6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road,
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452



Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and it also helps to finance the next issue. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. If payment is made in advance, the price is 25 cents. For \$5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group. For \$25, 100 families on a reservation could each receive a copy. Send your order to: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683 or telephone (518) 483-2540.

BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print — numbers 3, 4, and 5.

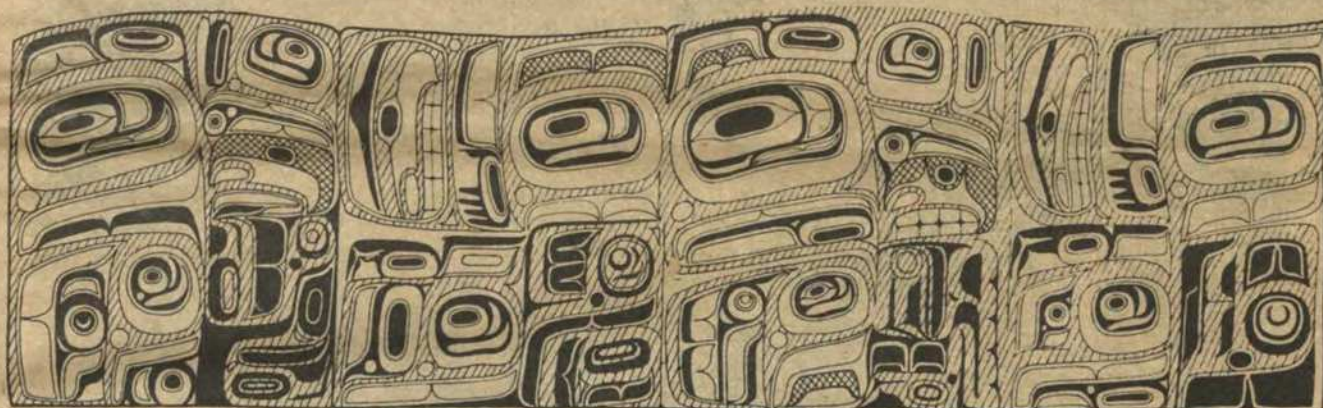
Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3, 4, 5, 6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Eight had five issues, all still available. This is the first issue of Volume 9, edition 54.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for \$7.50 — that will be about seventeen of them as supplies hold.



WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE/AKWESASNE NOTES TRAVEL PLANS ANNOUNCED: HELP IN SCHEDULING REQUESTED

White Roots of Peace is now a tour which began March 11, and which will end in mid-May. Texas, Colorado, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine and states in between are on the itinerary.

The tentative itinerary:

March 12: Texas Farmworkers, Corpus Christi
March 14: University of Texas/San Antonio
March 15: Saint Edwards College, Austin
March 16: Chicano Com. Center, Alpine, Texas
March 18: El Paso Community College, Texas
March 20: Zuni Pueblo
March 22: Taos Pueblo
March 23-4: Univ. of So. Colorado, Pueblo
March 24-5: Title IV Parents Committee, Colorado Springs, Colorado

March 26-29: Denver area.
March 30: Arapahoe Com. Col., Littleton, Colo.
March 31: Univ. of Colorado/Boulder
April 1: Univ. of North, Colo., Greeley
April 3-4: Eagle Butte Reservation, S.D.
April 5: South Dakota State Penitentiary
April 6: Yankton College, Yankton, S.D.
April 7: Morningside College, Sioux City
April 9-10: Scattergood School, West Branch, Iowa & vicinity
April 12: Univ. of Wisconsin/Eau Claire
April 13: Mt. Scenario College, Ladysmith
April 14-15: Univ. of Wisc., Stout/Menominee

April 16-17: Univ. of Wisc., Stevens Point
April 18: Univ. of Wisc., River Falls
April 20: Univ. of Wisc., Lacrosse
April 21-22: Marquette Univ., Milwaukee
April 23: NASC, MSU, East Lansing, Mich.
April 25-6: Rutgers, New Brunswick, N.J.
April 27: Rogers Williams College, Bristol, R.I.
April 28: Univ. of Rhode Island, Kingston
April 29: Cape Cod Comm. Col., W. Barnstable
April 30: Wampanoag Nation at Mashpee

May 1: Wampanoag Nation at Mashpee
May 2: NASC, Boston Commons, Mass.
May 3: Science Museum, Boston
May 4: MAAssasoit Com. Col., Brockton
May 5-7: Amherst, Massachusetts
May 8-9: School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont

May 10: Manchester, N.H.
May 12: Univ. of N.H., Durham
May 13: Univ. of Maine, Gorham/Portland
May 14: S. Maine Indian Assn., Portland
May 15: Franconia College

May 16-17: Sterling School, Craftsbury Commons, Vermont

Next autumn, the AKWESASNE NOTES travelling group hopes to be in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, again through Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York State, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania.

Among the speakers will be Phillip Deere, a Muskoke traditional leader and spiritual advisor to the American Indian Movement; a Nahuatl scholar and teacher from Atzlan; Coyote, a well-known Ylaki speaker and conservationist; Medicine Story, a Wampanoag artist; Rarihokwats, an editor of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Also included on this trip are a group of Mayan weavers and marimbists, active in village organizing in Guatemala. A group of Nahuatl native people from Mexico come with the powerful spiritual

dances, Danzas de los Concheros, representing the conquest which we each have over our selves to remain on the road of the Creation. Half of the group are Spanish-speaking, and half are English-speaking — and about half speak their own American languages.

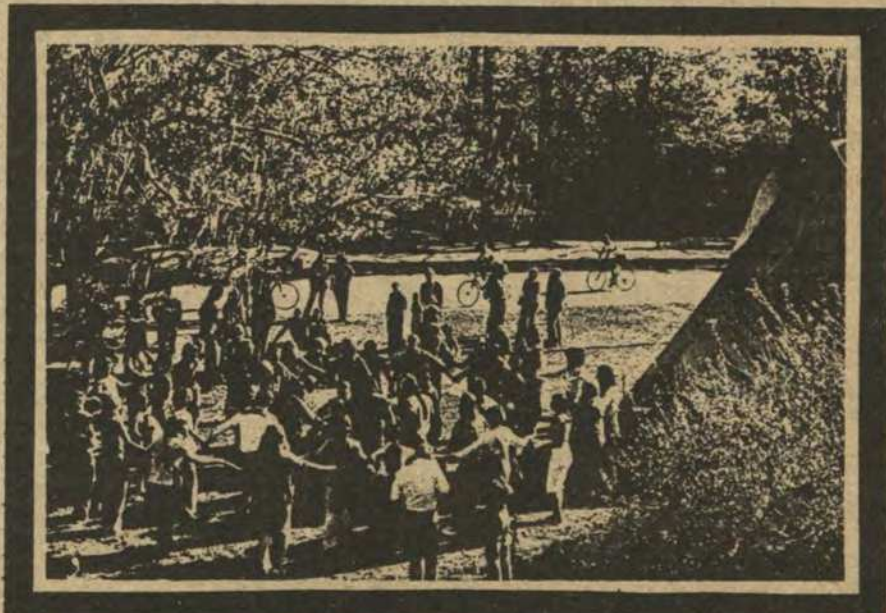
White Roots of Peace has been travelling since 1969, meeting on reservations, in urban centers, prisons, university campuses and elsewhere. Its members are craftsmen, spiritual leaders, writers, artists, farmers, singers, dancers and others working to keep the traditional values of their people, working to establish revitalized strength and unity in this land and life of the Creation.



Additional sponsorship is still being sought for this tour — especially from urban Indian groups, reservations, NASC chapters, and colleges. Because so many people are away during the summer months, every effort will be made to have the itinerary finalized by May 15. Since it could be another three years before White Roots of Peace will pass through this area again, potential sponsors are urged to act soon.

Further information about sponsoring White Roots of Peace in your community can be obtained by writing:

White Roots of Peace
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540



University of Indiana students and faculty join hands with native people in the Circle of Life for the Round Dance at a White Roots of Peace social.

KILLING OUR FUTURE STERILIZATION & EXPERIMENTS

Washington, D.C. — The U.S. Government is trying to pretend that it hasn't been happening.

As soon as the word leaked out that over 3400 native women had been sterilized in the last three years by U.S. surgeons in just a few of the Indian Health Service hospitals, the U.S. Information Agency denied the report, which had been issued by the U.S. General Accounting Office [GAO]. USIA sent reports around the world to say the reports were "inaccurate and incorrect".

"Sterilization procedures carried out by the IHS for American Indians were done at rates similar to those done among the U.S. population as a whole," a USIA release said in the Netherlands. It claimed the women involved had "given their permission".

Despite the denials, the genocidal implications of the situation simply won't wash away.

The early IHS denials assured the press that although the sterilizations had been conducted, the patients had consented. However, native women who were sterilized say, in some cases, they were told the operation was reversible, or that they would lose their children if they didn't consent, or consents were given while the women were still groggy from drugs administered during labor.

The figures are startling as they are broken down. In Oklahoma City area, for example, there are approximately 15,000 native women of child-bearing age. Of this number, 1,761 were sterilized over a 46-month period, or approximately 3% per year. In the Aberdeen area, where there are about 9,000 native women of child-bearing age, 740 sterilizations were performed in the same period. Phoenix, with 8,000 native women, had 784 sterilizations performed.

Another accusation against IHS is that its personnel, using funds intended for Indian health, has been sending medical teams to Liberia, ostensibly for consultation. However, once in Africa, investigators report, the surgeons — experts in sterilization procedures — have been dispersed to South Africa training centers, where they have trained physicians there in sterilization techniques for application on black women on South Africa's "reservations". The report remains unconfirmed, although IHS has admitted sending medical personnel to Liberia.

A system and machine capable of this type of genocide does not need real-life villains — just a network of consultants, officials, and medical personnel who have been persuaded it is all for a good cause. But at the helm, there does seem to be a key person — Dr. Louis Hellman, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population Affairs in the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW].

According to statistics from Dr. Hellman's office, an estimated 150,000 low-income persons were sterilized annually over the last few years under U.S. funded programs.

Funds under Hellman's control will reimburse states for 90% of the cost of the sterilization of indigent women.

They Wouldn't Believe This Horror

It began several years ago, when Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw physician, found a number of Indian women who told her they had been sterilized without understanding what was involved. Some young women of 18 had had complete hysterectomies — a radical operation without medical rhyme nor reason at that age. Checking further, she found in the Claremore, Oklahoma, IHS hospital literally dozens of sterilizations each month.

Her findings were published in AKWESASNE NOTES. Although they were startling, there were no denials forthcoming. Senator James Abourezk was able to get the GAO to make a study, and it was the release of that study which had caused press reports about the matter.

The GAO investigation examined only four of the IHS areas — Aberdeen, Albuquerque, Oklahoma City and Phoenix. In those areas alone, 3,001 women of child-bearing age, 15-44, were sterilized during

1973-1976. The investigation found that all four of the areas were "generally not in compliance with" government regulations requiring informed consent.

Some women had signed only the ordinary surgical consent forms customarily presented in hospitals, and necessary for the delivery of a child. Others were misinformed, and thought that the operation was reversible. Still others proceeded with sterilization under duress — threats were made their children would be taken away or welfare would be cut off if they did not proceed with the operation.

Federal courts have ordered that "individuals seeking sterilizations be orally informed at the outset that no federal benefits can be withdrawn because of failure to accept sterilization." Written summaries of the oral explanations are then to be made, and forms must have a statement notifying the women of their right to withdraw their consent. The courts had also ordered a moratorium on the sterilization of those under 21, but 36 Indian women under 21 were sterilized in violation of the order.

Because the special court-ordered consent forms were not used, the GAO reported that the IHS "was unable to supply us with complete and statistically reliable data on (1) whether the sterilizations were voluntary or therapeutic and (2) the ages of the patients."

Although HEW had to comply with the court order, it didn't have to do much follow-through. An ACLU study done a year after the court order surveyed 154 hospitals. Of these, only 54 bothered to reply. Of these, only three were in compliance with the court-mandated guidelines, and 36 were in complete non-compliance. Many were seemingly unaware that the regulations existed.

The GAO report concluded with a recommendation to the Secretary of HEW to direct the IHS to implement a standard consent form which meets court-ordered regulations. The report also directs the IHS to provide training to their physicians and administrators concerning informal consent, and the moratorium on the sterilization of persons under 21.



"They took our past with a sword and our land with a pen. Now they're trying to take our future with a scalpel."

— American Indian Journal

Thirty percent of the sterilizations were performed at "contract" facilities. IHS officials in the Albuquerque and Aberdeen areas said they do not monitor the consent procedures in contract care, nor are doctors required to follow federal regulations.

There are eight other IHS service areas not included in the report. Some reports say 3,000 Indian women each year are being sterilized.

The figures come together with those reported by other people of color — 20% of all married Black women are sterilized. In Puerto Rico, one-third of the women of childbearing age have been sterilized. The figures for native women have been reported to be as high as 42%. In foreign countries, U.S. AID programs have increased appropriations for population control more than 500% in the last six years, while decreasing funding for programs such as agricultural development.

While the IHS seemingly had funds to sterilize thousands of native women, its funds for real health care are severely limited.

Why Should We Limit Our Numbers?

"There are only 5,000 of us," said Tribal Judge Marie Sanchez of the Northern Cheyenne upon hearing of the sterilizations. "Why should we limit that number? This is another attempt to limit our population — but this

time, they're trying to do it in the noble name of medicine."

Dr. Uri says, "We have only about 100,000 women of child-bearing age, total — that's not per-anything. The Indian population of this country is dwindling, no matter what government statistics say to the contrary."

She says voluntary sterilization among a "population of 200 million people isn't going to wipe out the country, but in such a small group, it will wipe out Indians. Sterilization cannot be the preferred form of birth control for minority groups."

Dr. Uri criticizes the "mentality of the family planners, in control of medicine. I know how medicine operates, and the attitude of doctors tends to be that poor people shouldn't have kids because they can't afford them. But to deny people the right to have children because they can't have them born into a certain standard of living is cruel."

Doctors are, like others, subject to the propaganda that Western white peoples propagate: in order to survive and progress, it is necessary to maximize our monetary income, and minimize its outgo. As a doctor sees more and more of his income go out in taxes, some of it going to support welfare and unemployment benefits, he soon learns to want fewer of those drains on his wealth, and to seek out new ways of producing greater wealth. Thus, sterilization performs a double purpose: population of minorities is limited while income is increased from government-paid fees for the operations.

In this light, the rising popularity among surgeons of hysterectomies bears examination. After tonsilectomies, hernia repair and gall bladder removal, the fourth most-commonly performed operation is hysterectomy. Indian women in their young twenties have had hysterectomies as their form of sterilization — after all, a hysterectomy is worth a thousand or two more dollars than a tubal ligation, and is much more challenging.

Medical personnel are also subjected to the propaganda that the world is divided into the haves and the

have-nots. There are too many have-nots polluting the world with their numbers, and thus it is their duty, as one of the haves, to make the world a better place to live by eliminating the have-nots — it's even in "their best interests".

Like many other U.S. Government agencies, IHS personnel are a mixed bag. Some are dedicated doctors who give up opportunities for highly-lucrative private practice out of a genuine desire to provide good health care to native people. Others are young doctors attracted by an opportunity to rapidly complete requirements for specialized certifications — where else could a surgeon hope to be able to perform so many hysterectomies in so short a time in order to be a certified gynecologist?

IHS guidelines on "family planning" are issued under the banner, "The goal of the IHS is that each child shall be a wanted one." Policy dictates that while abortions — a sensitive issue — shall be done only in conformity with state laws even though this need not be done in a federal facility, sterilizations can be done "irrespective of state laws." If the patient is married, the consent of the husband is to be obtained, under the guidelines — but the currently-used IHS consent forms do not have a space for the spouse's signature.

One HEW Family Planning Project geared to encourage a limited Indian population tells interviewers how to

work within the Indian culture. "If the reception is not good from the woman [in a home visit] talk to the grandparents. If the approach is from a 'health aspect', the grandparents will be receptive. Never suggest or try to counsel or discuss family planning with both husband and wife present." Workers are encouraged to deal with acute health problems first, and then come back to talk about "family planning".

Losing A Nation By Adoptions

For those native children who are born, there is a good chance that they will not be raised by their parents. In the Dakotas, one out of four native children is taken from their family and placed in foster or adoption homes.

According to a survey taken by the Association on American Indian Affairs, "23-35% of all Indian children are removed from their homes to be placed in adoptive homes, foster care, or institutions. Indian children are placed away from their homes by state and private agencies at a rate 10 to 20 times greater than the rate for non-Indian children."

The AAIA also reports that the decision to take Indian children from their homes "is, in most cases, carried out without due process of law, and with little regard for the impact on the children, their families, and the community."

Typical is the case of Blossom Lavone, age 3. She traveled with her aunt to California from the Rosebud Lakota nationlands — her mother was to join her soon. But a week after the child arrived in California, social workers placed her in a pre-adoptive home. They said the reservation was an unsuitable place to raise the child, and that adoptive parents financially able to provide a superior way of life should rear the child. They admitted they had absolutely no evidence that the mother was in the least way unfit to rear her child. After intervention by AAIA attorneys, Blossom was returned to her mother.

Norma Jean Serena, a Creek-Shawnee from Oklahoma, is a woman who was sterilized who is not a part of the statistics. Her ability to have children was taken by Pittsburg-area welfare workers and doctors who told her "she had enough children" and that any subsequent pregnancies might result in the birth of "deformed or retarded children."

In addition, the welfare officials took away three of her five children. Two years later, Serena learned at a child custody hearing that her sterilization was not mandatory, as she had been told, and that the welfare official had lied about the possibility of deformed children. She eventually got her children back, and is now suing the welfare workers and the two physicians who performed the sterilization.

In Canada, The Knife Also Cuts Life

In Canada, the question of sterilization of native women has gone unanswered for six years. In 1970, former NDP leader David Lewis asked in the House of Commons about reports of sterilization, but the Government denied knowledge of it. But last autumn, a Roman Catholic priest named at least six Northwest Territories communities where women had been sterilized without being told what was happening to them.

"Has the Government the guts to do an inquiry and explain what's going on?" Wally Firth, a NWT member of Parliament asked recently.

In the villages named by the priest, about one-third of the women had been sterilized. Rev. Robert Lechat of Igloolik said the figures were gathered through his own inquiries, and he challenged the Canadian Government to make its figures public.

The Inuit, he says, are so fond of children that they adopt when they can no longer give birth. No one with knowledge of these people would believe they "are begging on their knees to get from a doctor the favor of sterilization. It is a nonsense. They are not asking for the operation. They are induced to have it," he said.

Lechat said that for a minority people like the Inuit, "whose survival as a very specific element of the Canadian population is far from being insured, it is quite a serious gamble with his future to accept blindly a policy of sterilization."

About 3½ years ago, a CBC public affairs television program alleged that native women in the North were being sterilized against their will, but Health Minister Marc Lalonde issued a flat denial and lodged a strong protest with the CBC.

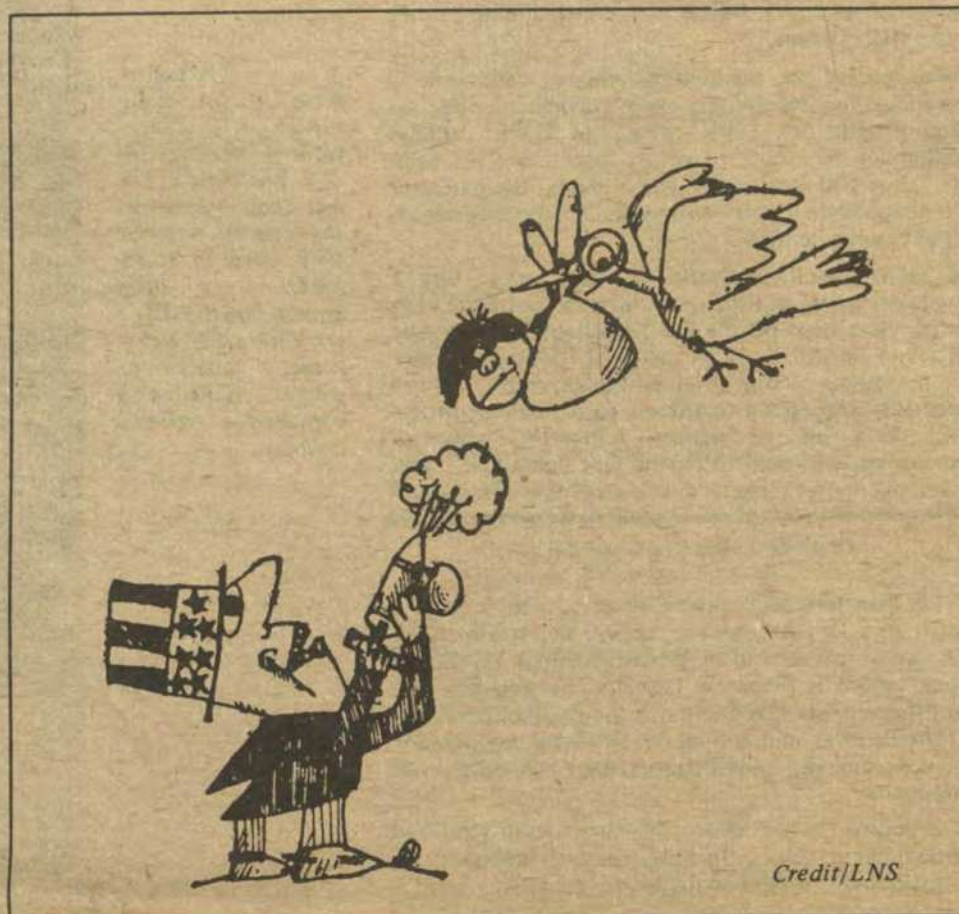
This time, however, it was Indian Affairs Minister Warren Allmand who issued the denials. He said actually, the small white population on Baffin Island in the Arctic is more inclined to sterilization than are the Inuit — a denial which ignores the argument that the two groups, Inuit and whites, are in a different condition of survival. If every white woman on Baffin Island were sterilized, the white race in North America would not be endangered. But if every Inuit woman were sterilized, the genocide of the Inuit People would be very much furthered.

It is also misleading to examine statistics which minimize the annual rate of sterilization, since steriliza-

tion is forever. Even if only one per cent of child-bearing women are sterilized annually, that would add up to a 30% figure. At Repulse Bay in the Arctic, 45% of all women — almost half — are now sterile.

Chicanas Are Also A Target Of "Control"

Chicanas have also been affected by the sterilization mentality. In 1975, the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice filed a civil rights action in the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California against the California Department of Health, the U.S. Dept. of HEW, the USC Los Angeles County Medical Center, and 13 individual doctors. The suit was entered on behalf of ten Chicanas who say they were surgically sterilized without having given their free and informed consent.



One of the Chicanas, Dolores Madrigal, speaks no English. She reported that while under severe labor pain, a nurse and a doctor pressured her into signing a consent form by assuring her that "the operation could be easily reversed."

Another woman, Jovita Rivera, reported that she signed the sterilization consent forms under heavy sedation. She said doctors counseled her to have her "tubes tied" because her children were a burden on the government. She said she was never informed the operation was irreversible.

Another plaintiff, Rebecca Figueroa, said she consented to the operation because nurses told her that birth control pills were unhealthy and that sterilization was the only alternative to death.

The sterilizations were part of federal and state programs which assist and promote the sterilization of poor and minority women. The suit demands that consent forms be printed in Spanish for Spanish-speaking women, and in a language easily understood by poorly-educated women. Counseling material concerning the sterilization operation, and alternative methods of birth control, should be written into the consent form, the suit says. Both state and federal officials have already agreed to make these changes — but enforcement is another matter.

Many Central and South American countries have been encouraged to get into "population control" by United States officials. Recently, however, Peru took over control of distribution of contraceptives as Health Minister Gen. Jorge Tamayo said his government rejected the idea that a too-rapid population growth rate tends to keep nations underdeveloped.

Last summer, students, faculty, hospital workers and community members protested a U.S. Agency for International Development [AID] program at Washington University in St. Louis which trained doctors from Third World countries in sterilization techniques. The program is called PIEGO — Program for International Education in Gynecology and Obstetrics.

PIEGO also operates out of the University of Pittsburg and Johns Hopkins, training doctors in the technique of laproscopic tubal ligation, the most easily-performed sterilization operation — but not necessarily the safest. In addition to the medical training, the physicians also receive lectures on the importance of population control in preserving social stability, and at the end of the training, each physician is given a gift of a \$5,000 laproscope.

Because the physicians are not licensed in the U.S., they cannot gain practical experience in the operations, and must refine their technique on the women back home.

Washington University doctors claimed that they were just providing academic training, and that they have no knowledge of the use to which the training is put once their students are back in their own countries. One Bolivian trainee bragged that he had been sterilizing up to 80 women per week without their knowledge.

A film, *Blood of the Condor*, distributed through Tricontinental Films, is a dramatized account of a Peace Corps clinic in Bolivia which the native women were encouraged to utilize for child-deliveries — only to discover a few years later that there were no women in the village capable of having children. In their rage, upon this discovery, the villagers storm the clinic, castrating the U.S. physicians who had been performing the secret sterilizations.

The International Planned Parenthood Federation, funded by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, sterilized 40,000 Colombian women in a two-year period. A million Brazilian women were sterilized between 1965 and 1971 by a program indirectly funded by the U.S. AID.

The Population Control movement of today grew out of the Eugenics movement of the 1900s. Eugenics was financed by the Harrimans, Carnegies, Osborns, and other wealthy families, advocating a blatantly racist ideology by demanding improvement of human stock through a decline in the birth rates of "inferior races and classes".

During the rise of Nazism, their racist doctrines became unpopular. They then shifted the rhetoric to "population planning".

The two main groups which developed were Planned Parenthood and the Population Council. Membership of the Population Council included Henry Osborn, founder of the Smithsonian Institution and a former Eugenecist; Lewis L. Strauss, former secretary of commerce and director of RCA; Thomas Parron, an officer in the Mellon Foundations, and Ditlev Bronk, a long-time Rockefeller associate. The Council continues to receive millions of dollars annually from these monied interests.

58% of the world population control funds come from the U.S. with the National Institute of Health adding another 12%. AID is responsible for half of the total world funding in population control.

New York City Gets Sterilization Guidelines

In New York City last year, only 415 sterilizations were performed — a small number compared to the native statistics among an even smaller native population. But the fact that 78% of these operations were performed on minority women — half of them Spanish-speaking women — caused a cry of alarm.

The Center for Constitutional Rights in New York has worked with the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Sterilization of the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation to draft guidelines to prevent involuntary sterilization. Those guidelines, which apply to all New York City hospitals, ensure that women will be provided in their own language full information concerning the risks and benefits of sterilization, alternative birth control methods, a thirty-day waiting period in order to protect against pressures to be sterilized when they are admitted to hospitals for abortion or childbirth.

(continued on next page)

Those guidelines, which went into effect in November, 1975, were challenged in a U.S. District Court action by a group of six well-known New York gynecologists, who claimed they interfered with their right to practice medicine (*Douglas v. Holloman*). The action is still pending.

Maybe The Truth Is Not So Crazy

Another IHS scandal was brewing in Tucson, where a special thinktank unit, Office of Research and Development (ORD) reports directly to Washington, and thus has an important say in the U.S. Indian health policies. The unit is headed by Dr. E.S. Rabeau, former IHS director. ORD critics contend that the projects undertaken by the unit are worth far less than they cost, and that IHS is run by a small "club" of commissioned public health officers, including retired former IHS officials.

Rabeau denies the accusation, and says the unit is succeeding in bringing modern systems analysis to Indian health care. ORD runs the Desert Willow Training Center, most of whose instructors are part-time. Some 100 current IHS employees in the past year were assigned to Desert Willow in Tucson's vacationland to teach a course.

One ORD employee, Charles F. McCarthy, was a management analyst who was willing to cooperate with Senator Abourezk on the GAO audit of IHS. He says that when he did this, "all hell broke loose." Shortly after he began cooperating with Abourezk, he was suspended, and called to submit to a medical fitness exam. This led to sessions with IHS-appointed psychiatrists, who said McCarthy was "paranoid", and he was given a retirement on a "psychiatric disability."

Organizing For Legal Action

Dr. Uri has left her medical practice and is now a student in a Los Angeles law school. She is a member of a group called Indian Women United for Social Justice, which is preparing lawsuits charging that the plaintiffs were sterilized without their full understanding. She believes that only as doctors become liable for their consequences of sterilization that the abuses will be stopped.

Indian women who believe they have been sterilized without being fully informed, or with coercion, or other problems, should contact:

Indian Women United For Social Justice
POBox 38743
Los Angeles, California 90038

Experimenting On The Children

The GAO report also investigated experimentation using native people as subjects. Although none of the experiments investigated presented "high risks", consistently, the native people involved had not given their informed consent.

The GAO report found 24 projects involving "a medical practice procedure and/or drug dosage which was not considered usual or customary." Although the experiments did not "expose participants to serious risk," it found that some of the experiments were "painful" and "hazardous."

In one case, 94 Indian school children were used in a study of pulmonary disease. They had to swallow a tube for aspiration of stomach contents, "a difficult and uncomfortable procedure for a child." Their larynxes were examined by an instrument which "might be hazardous."

A pre-diabetes test involved "taking several blood samples using an intravenous catheter, administering two doses of cortisone, and performing a needle muscle biopsy."

In many of the experiments with the children, parents did not give their consent.

It is not only the Indian Health Service which has used native people for medical experiments. Several years ago, the U.S. Army was involved in an experiment at Red Lake, Minnesota which had many questionable aspects.

Hundreds of sick Chippewa adults and children on the Red Lake Reservation in recent years have either been unknowingly subjected to experimental treatments, or often have had diseases left untreated while they were being observed for experimental purposes.

A study financed by the Department of Defense and undertaken by the University of Minnesota Medical School provided the military with data on the spreading and control of impetigo and nephritis, diseases that have immobilized U.S. troops in Southeast Asia.

The researchers chose the Red Lake Reservation specifically because of its poverty, overcrowded housing, and poor health care — conditions they judged as causing the spread of the two diseases.

Impetigo is a skin disease caused by streptococci bacteria. It produces boil-like sores on the face, legs, and other exposed parts of the body which can itch, burn, and bleed. The disease spreads rapidly if untreated and can

infect a whole family. A certain strain of the bacteria that causes impetigo can lead to nephritis, a far more serious disease. Nephritis is an inflammation of the kidneys, and can cause kidney failure if not properly treated. Impetigo can be cured with penicillin, but nephritis often requires hospitalization.

One 1970 study traces the appearance and spread of strep bacteria in different parts of the body, and their relation to impetigo and nephritis. A Chippewa woman and her two five-year-old twins all developed impetigo sores.

— IHS photo
Most of the thousands of native women sterilized in U.S. hospitals in the last three years had the operation while they were in childbirth — a little known health hazard which was never present when our grandmothers delivered a nation's children.



The doctor in control of the experiment allowed the disease to progress until the mother and children developed nephritis, eventually requiring them to be hospitalized for ten days.

In this study, the twins, along with their sisters and brothers who also had impetigo, were monitored three times per week — but not treated, even though accepted medical practice dictates prompt treatment.



— Health Pac/cpt

The experiment called for the doctor to find out how much time it would take for nephritis to develop from the first appearance of the impetigo sores.

In January, 1966, one hundred Indian children from the Headstart program were checked weekly for the presence of streptococci bacteria. The following July, the

investigation paid off — four children developed acute nephritis. Forseeing a nephritis epidemic, which would also help their research, they decided to look for cases of nephritis which were developing, but for which obvious symptoms had not yet appeared.

They found 15 cases of children with small amounts of blood in their urine. The children were then all taken to the University of Minnesota Hospital in Minneapolis for a biopsy of the kidney. None of the parents had asked for this treatment.

Biopsy of the kidney can be very painful — the skin

around the hip is anesthetized, and a long needle is pushed into the kidney. A sample of the tissue is taken out and analyzed.

Evidence of kidney damage was found in all 15 children. All the results were tabulated, including typing of the bacteria strains, amounts of blood and protein in the urine, swelling of the face and limbs and high blood pressure.

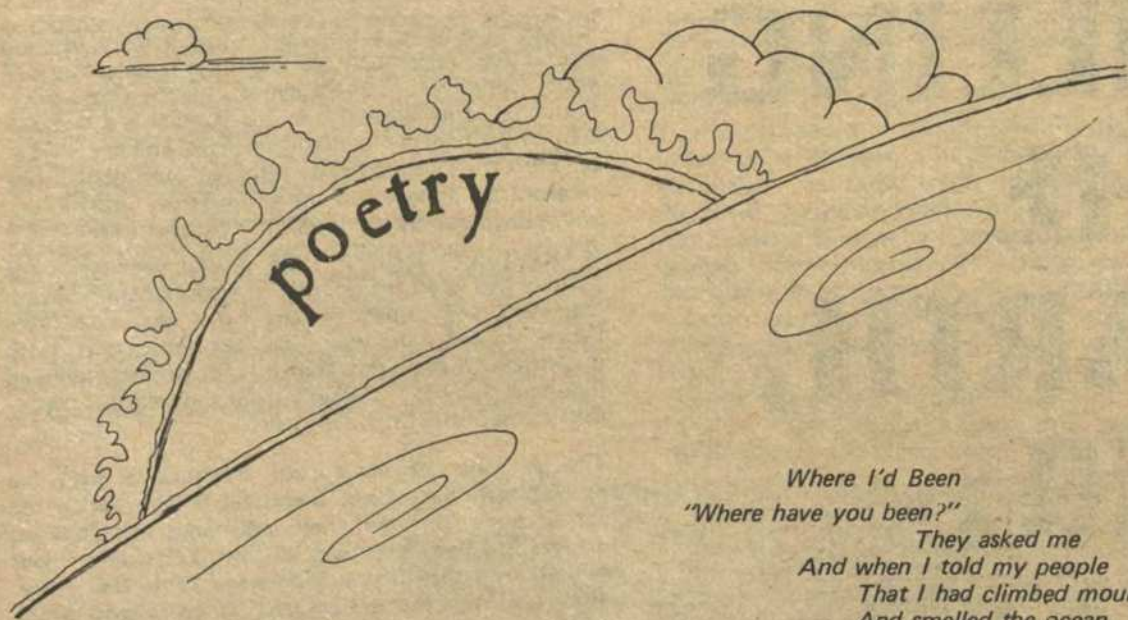
The Red Lake children did not benefit from the studies. Not one of them was treated. But a 1971 issue of *Military Medicine* pointed out that the studies were important to military medicine.

Red Lake Councilman Leon F. Cook, formerly a top BIA employee, said that apparently permission of Indian parents had been sought through "permission slips" prepared by community health representatives. Many parents were unaware their children would be used in experiments, for some of the children who got shots received penicillin — others received nothing but salt water, but all thought they were being treated.



Writers for the magazine *Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action*, who first revealed the studies to public attention, said "Health is sacrificed for the interests of the agencies funding the medical programs. The impetigo study at Red Lake is not merely an atrocity calling for token reparations, but a pointed illustration of the general medical policies that hurt all of us. We see that a fight against the underlying causes of racist health care is in the interest of all of us."

[Thanks to Majority Report, Canadian Press, Federal Times, Liberation News Service, Gayle Sweigert of The Wildcat, Sharon Bohen in Blind Justice, Steve Vernon in the Berkeley Barb, Claridad, San Diego Feminist Communications, columnists Jack Cloherty and Bob Owens, and Edward Sylvester of the Arizona Daily Star, College Press Service, and to Dr. Connie Uri for information used here.]



yo soy which means i am

yo soy which means i am
and i don't believe sometimes
the offences i commit against the world
but i do and more often then not i do
i am the man, born in the time
of constant city urban renewal
in which i tried to make a stand
in the western myth of time
that even pigeons shit upon

yo soy which means i am
once
had an interview with a bug
who told me, seriously told me
not to trust or eat the food sprayed upon
i don't, the bug went on
since i quit
the feeling is much better
easy-open up your eyes and see
it's a better way to survive
and the myth is a lie

yo soy which means i am
going about things in
a different manner
it is good to be without
a number, or chained to
words on yellow paper
the pump fuel ovation
a short story in creation's entire being
on drawing near the end of its use

yo soy which means i am
one of those who don't agree
with the words that we will
solve the problems with time
and i want to be released from
that mad going world
to take my chances and changes
with the sun, moon and earth
in real time

yo soy which means i am
been told that animals don't count
because they lack soul
and if that's enlightenment
how can i depend on some machine
which truly doesn't have a soul
it doesn't even know
how to grow, change, or
give birth in the spring naturally

— Juan Reyna



— 1909 —

there is a new song, old chief:
the redwood is no longer the greatest
the eagle is no longer the proudest
the oak trees voted in a pine
now the pine tree is the greatest
and the ducks got a pigeon treading water.

no one counted coup, old chief:
the rivers flow backward
the fish have mercury for food.
the buzzards are getting fat.
it's crazy, crazy.

— 1977 —

there is a new song, young chief:
the redwood is big and strong
the eagle flies on and on
and all the rest.
they were hiding for us to find
our hearts, our soul, our minds.

— terry buckanaga
sept. 1976

Where I'd Been
"Where have you been?"

They asked me
And when I told my people
That I had climbed mountains
And smelled the ocean

That I had hunted bear
And tasted two seasons

Basking in silence
And empty majesty

That my tongue had been dust
Until my skin shed water
And I shook my fist at airplanes
While blessing thunder

Only the oldest understood me
Only the old one smiled and knew

— Sarah Underhill

Do not pity me,
I am not poor.
I am not old.
I am a convict.
Do not cry for me,
I am not sick,
I am not dead.
I am a warrior.
Do not feel ashamed of me,
I am not weak,
I am not wrong.
I am your son . . .

— Coke Millard

A VOICE INSIDE THE DRUM

There is a
Voice
inside
the drum
a
Voice
speaking to
the people, listen
to what
it says
in a sacred manner
it comes
to your ears &
to your heart
the
Voice
of your people
the
Voice
of the center
for every Being
to hear!

— Armin

I Dance

With a rainbow in my hair I Dance.
I forget, for awhile, the hunger in my belly and the anger in my heart I Dance.
The songs of old are in my ears and heart, and I must listen.
I forget for awhile the cold indifference of others I Dance.

— yvonne johnson
- 1976 -

AT MESA VERDE

Ute-Liner, Travel-Craft
Weekender, Pace Arrow: man from
Walla Walla, wife from
Savannah, kids born in
Arlington, face backwards
3000 miles
playing war
in a Coupe de Ville
— to get here.

Rangers
give directions to
the snack-bar, not in metric
but: "Ten Winnebagos down"

Matadors, Gran Torinos
Starcraft & Sportsman all empty
Americans pulling up to
the Sun Temple

Man
in Louisiana
drawl asks "This where they sacrificed
their victims?"

Balcony House
tour proceeds, scout-leader
behind me secretly whispers
"Gotta time this vacation just right.
Wouldn't know what to do with
any extra days starin' me in the face"

(his foot in pre-Columbian toehold)

& the dark-eyed chick
from Boulder
dressed in Forestry Dept. green
gives me the rap on Anasazi
menstrual pads

under a red
handprint in Longhouse Ruins.

That same night
after the tourists left, we
climbed into an old kiva
smoked hemp, found corncobs & hanks
of grey yucca

Watched a white rainbow
over Montezuma Valley, stoned
I carried myself away
"Ten Winnebagos down"
& 13 centuries back —

To how it was "then"
when America was still
without
Name—

— John Brandi



Old friends have left one by one
and I'm here watching them
dance through the sky. They said
that we'd come together when
the moon turned — far in the early morning;
at the end of winter;
after many snows.

They said that we'd come together and talk with
swiftly soaring birds and sit around fires — talking
and feasting — singing forty-nines.

I get up and walk over to the side of the hill
in the early morning. I hear their voices
echoing in the valleys. They say I've been watching
too many sunrises alone.

— Oneida

Lullaby for Moksios

Little warrior
Dream tonight
Tomorrow
You'll protect the helpless ones.

— Luta

Lame Deer, Montana — An unusually cold winter across North America has intensified pressure for new energy developments.

But the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Nations, and some of their non-Indian Montana neighbors, continue their opposition to ruining their lands by strip-mining to produce coal that the cities people say they need to keep warm.

Not long ago, a delegation of Northern Cheyenne People took an inspection tour to the Navajo Nation, where strip-mining and electric-power generating is already a fact of life. They came home turned off to the prospect.

The Crow, who had filed suit in 1975 to cancel coal leases on their land, in January received an Interior Department ruling which invalidated some — but not all — of the existing leases. In a coal-related issue, the Crow also are suing to regain control of the waters that flow through their lands.

In these attempts to preserve the land base so their nations can survive, the native people have been aided by environment-conscious non-Indians of the area. But at the same time, frictions are developing between the native people and residents of some near-by white communities.

Black Diamonds Under the Prairies

Much of Montana, including the Crow and Cheyenne nationlands, sits over the huge Fort Union coal formation which is estimated to contain 1.5-trillion tons of desirable low-sulphur coal. 100-billion tons of that is accessible to strip-mining.

A U.S. Department of Interior study released in 1971, the North Central Power Survey, proposed massive strip-mining and the construction of 42 electric generating plants in the region. The huge amounts of power churned out would be destined for the industrial centers of the midwest and west coast, requiring erection of high-voltage transmission lines.

Additional proposals have included building mine-mouth coal-gasification facilities to turn coal into gas, which would then have to be transshipped to urban consumption markets via a yet-to-be-constructed pipeline. Other pipelines might carry "slurry" — crushed coal mixed with water so it can be pumped along — to industrial users elsewhere.

Major extraction "developments" that take the resources of one "underdeveloped" area for profit and use in industrial metropolitan regions are normally carried out with little care for their impact on the exploited area. True to the norm, the coal development plans will be a disaster for Montana. One concerned rancher thinks his home state would be most accurately termed a "national sacrifice area" if the developments go through.

The Montana and North Dakota fields are said to have 15 times the energy reserves of the Alaskan North Slope oil and gas fields.

The Interior report was drafted jointly with 35 power companies. The description of the rape of the land was in such graphic, exploitive terms that conservations everywhere mobilized to fight the project.

In Appalachia, where strip-mining already has converted large areas of forested mountain ranges into a lunar-landscape wasteland, impoverished residents are literally being blasted out of their homes by strip-miners. Children and adults contract a lung disease, pneumoconiosis, from breathing the dust raised by the blasting. What the dust will be like in arid Montana is likely to be more severe than anything West Virginia can imagine.

There is the strip-mining itself — razing topsoil, plant and animal life and the human community in its path. There is air pollution resulting from the burning of coal in the generating plants. Huge quantities of water — none too plentiful in Montana as it is — consumed by generating, gasification, and slurry techniques. Socially, there would be a rapid influx of thousands of workers and their families to an area that is now primarily rural and sparsely populated. Native people would become a minority on their own reservations.

For the 4,500 Crow who live on 1.5-million acres in southeastern Montana, and the Northern Cheyenne, 2,700 of whom inhabit an adjacent 400,000 acres, massive strip-mining by outside corporate interests will do irreversible damage to the land — and to the Peoples as their land base is ruined.

In the 1960s and early '70s, at the urging of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency of the Interior Department which drafted the North Central Power Survey, the Crow and Cheyenne Councils sold exploration and mining leases to a number of major coal corporations. As the companies moved toward starting excavations, the native people began to see the predicament they were facing. Residents of the reservation realized how little information they had been furnished by the BIA in originally being asked to grant the leases. Investigations then turned up numerous, documentable violations of federal environmental protection laws, Interior Department regulations, as well as the predictable corporate dishonesty.

The money dangled by the coal companies can look enticing in an area where 37% of the Indian labor force

KILLING THE EARTH, AIR, WATER

is unemployed, and another 18% in only part-time employment.

A further look showed environmental impact studies required by U.S. law had not been done. An early lease on the Cheyenne Reservation was purchased by the obscure "Sentry Royalty Company of Nevada" — which turned out to be a dummy front for the Peabody Coal Company, largest coal producer in the U.S.

By 1973, before the average Cheyenne knew what had happened, over half of the reservation was under lease. Cheyenne landowners, many of whom make a living as ranchers and seeing the threat posed by the coal development, formed an association and began to argue with the Cheyenne Council about the wisdom of its course of action.

The result was a resolution sent to Rogers Morton, then Secretary of Interior, demanding cancellation of the leases. Morton agreed with some — but not all — of the Cheyenne charges, and in June, 1974, he declared all leases in excess of the legal size limit of 2,560 acres invalid. It was this precedent that Morton's eventual successor, Thomas Kleppe, cited this January — five days before vacating his office to the incoming Democratic Administration — when he made a similar ruling regarding coal leases and options on the Crow Reservation.

Kleppe openly expressed his hope that the action would head off the Crows' pressing of a lawsuit they had filed in September, 1975, charging the BIA with "complete mismanagement of Crow Tribal resources".



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Michael Crummett

The suit charged the Department of Interior with conflict of interest between the carrying out of its legal trust responsibilities toward the native people, and carrying out the U.S. of A's national energy policies.

Kleppe's decision affects four of the five leaseholders on the Crow reservation, who had also been named in the Crow suit. Shell Oil, one of the four, will continue legal action to force the Crow to uphold its lease to 30,000 Crow acres. Westmoreland Resources, the only corporation which has been able to get its mining underway on the Montana reservations so far, was not named in the Crow suit, since it had agreed to give the Crow royalty payments substantially higher than the other corporations when it first negotiated its lease.

To get secretarial action, the Crow had to file suit against the Department of Interior, charging the BIA with "complete mismanagement of the Crow tribal resources", and alleging that the permits and leases of four of the coal companies were illegal and not binding on the Crow Council. The disputed agreements never received the approval of the Crow Tribal Council, and were concluded by the Interior Department itself.

It wasn't until January, 1975, several years after the permits had been signed, that an environmental impact statement was issued by the BIA. Then the Crow People learned there would be "adverse impacts" such as dilution of the Crow Way of Life through increased industrial activity," possibly meaning even the extinction of the Crow language.

Though some of these legal attempts to stop the development have been successful in obstructing the corporations for now, their long range meanings are uncertain. "The executives of these companies," says radical journalist James Ridgeway, "bide their time. They wait for the [native people] to exhaust themselves, to spend what little money is in the treasury for lawyers to fight them. They can wait until the financial pressures, the prospect of continuing poverty set against the lure of instant wealth, eventually turns Indian against Indian, until [they] collapse and accept the friendly advice of their warders at the Bureau of Indian Affairs... who want them to lease out the coal."

The coal companies rely on "Project Independence", the U.S. commitment to provide its own energy for the next few years, as pushing aside any native objections.

Meanwhile, confident of eventual implementation of some version of the North Central Power Survey's scheme, the U.S. Government is supporting research into how to repair the wreckage. The RAND Corporation, a "thinktank" organization that did much of the "clean" policy development for the U.S. during the Vietnam War produced a report that stated the obvious: "The quiet, uncrowded easy-going style of the past may give way to a more hectic life-style... Attempts to maintain traditional cultures of the area, whether they be those of the northern Plains tribes or of family farming and ranching, are likely to meet growing obstacles to success."

A prestigious Cambridge, Massachusetts, based group, Resource Planning Associates, is busy studying the "boom town" effect of rapid development, hoping to develop guidelines that the rural communities of the Northern Plains can use to control the pressures they will feel. The study assumes, of course, that the boom is on its way.

Former U.S. Energy Administrator Frank Zarb maintains there will be no boom-and-bust chaos created by the development: "Just because it has been done wrong in the past," he told a public forum in Denver last fall, "does not mean it will be done wrong in the future."

And as the Crow and Cheyenne check out the history of their relations with the U.S., neither does it mean things will be done right.

Seeing Is Believing

Thirty-six members of the Northern Cheyenne People took a ten-day inspection tour to view the impact of coal and other industrial development at the Navajo Reservation last fall. The trip was organized by the Northern Cheyenne Research Project, an agency of the Cheyenne Council, which is operating, independently of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to investigate the economic, environmental, and social impact of the proposed development. A referendum vote will be held among the Cheyenne this year to determine the future of the now-suspended leases.

According to Michael Bear Comes Out, one of those on the trip, about one-fourth of the group supported strip mining at the outset of the journey. "Now," he said, "I think you have 36 Cheyennes who will take up guns to keep mining off the reservation."

The *Navajo Times*, in an article after their visit, remarked that "the Northern Cheyenne were persistent in their questions concerning the actual benefits which mining has brought to the Navajos. They noted that the answer is always in terms of 'dollar benefits'".

"Before," said David Strange Owl, another participant in the fact-finding mission, "I didn't know much about coal. I had little information on it. I think we should keep our land and not strip-mine. What I've seen between the Navajo and Hopi is a sad thing, to see the strip-mining on their reservation. I'll try to see what I can do to help with the coal question, because it's going to hurt a lot of lives of the reservation — our lives, our culture."

The Cheyenne not only do not want strip-mining on the reservation — they have asked the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from plans for strip-mining all lands within fifty miles of the reservation borders. A Cheyenne Council resolution cited a federal inability to develop an adequate criteria for leasing as one reason for the demand. Three-quarters of the reservation boundary lies up against federal coal holdings.

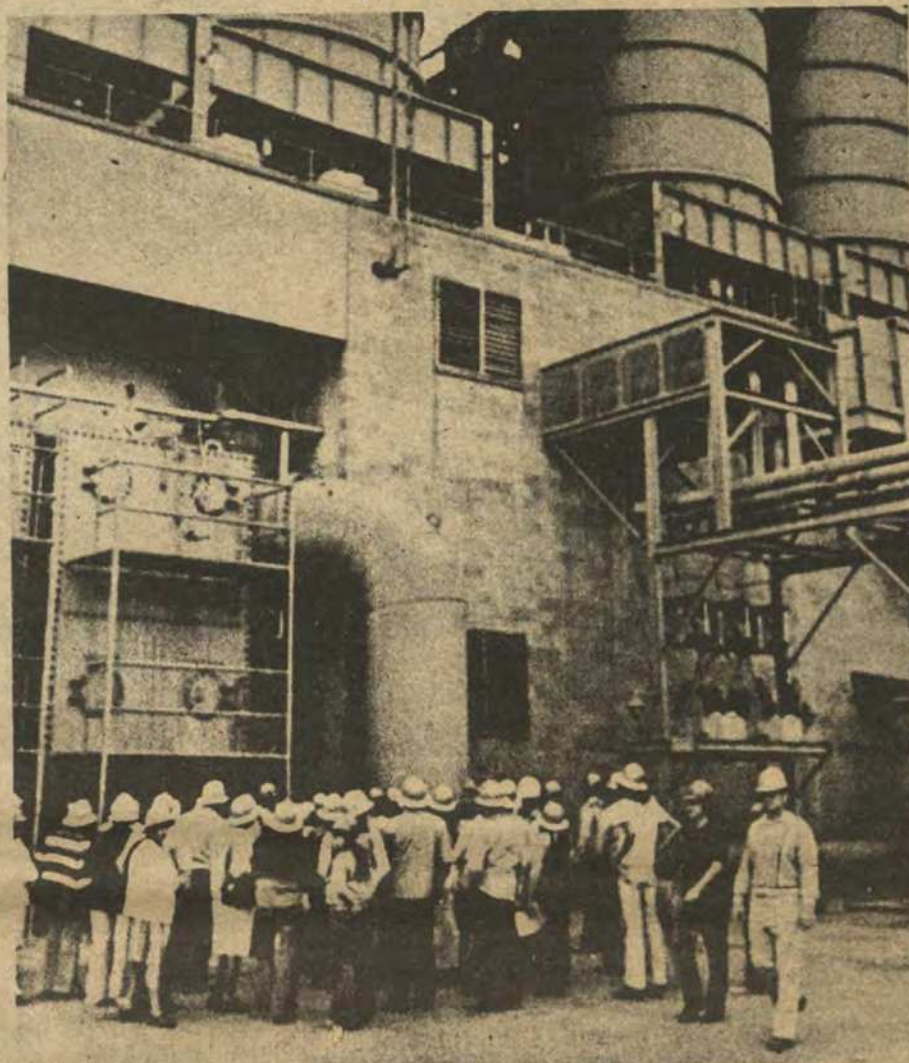
The Interior Department says that it will not force reservations to strip-mine — but as soon as a business council votes to proceed with strip-mining, the leases

will be signed, and there will be no turning back. Currently, the Cheyenne Council is re-elected every two years. The biennial elections are fervors of political excitement which build up the image that the council is important. However, everything the council passes is subject to approval by first the local BIA superintendent who passes it to the area director of the BIA, and then on to the Solicitor of the Interior Department, and the Secretary of Interior. If they all approve, the legislation becomes law.

This form of government was brought to the Cheyennes during the New Deal days of the 1930s. Before, the Cheyennes had a government given to them by the Creation through a woman. It took the form of a Council of Forty-Four Chiefs. The ritual of renewal of the chiefs was an event of great sacredness, with each sworn in with a Red Sacred Pipe. There were five senior chiefs, who served in both religious and political capacities.

King. However, King was away at the time, significantly attending a special "police training" session at a U.S. Army base in Georgia. When he returned, he hired a white attorney who is considered to be a supporter of Montanans Opposed to Discrimination, to represent him at a reinstatement hearing before the Police Commission.

One of those testifying in behalf of Rowland was tribal judge Marie Sanchez, a mother of nine, and a direct descendant of Little Wolf, who led one band of Northern Cheyenne from starvation in Oklahoma in 1872. Judge Sanchez is a staunch opponent of strip-mining. King's attorney, in a successful attempt to intimidate the Commission into reinstating his client, became belligerent, demeaning the Cheyenne Court by shouting that "Mrs. Sanchez should be kicked in the butt." The following day, the white-owned *Billings Gazette* carried a front-page account of the proceedings, portraying Judge Sanchez as a "dissident" and noting she is an AIM supporter.



A group of Cheyenne tour the energy "developments" on the Navajo Nation lands to see what the future might hold for them and their grandchildren.

— Tsistsistas Press

Each Cheyenne man belonged to one of six military societies — Fox Soldiers, Elk Soldiers, Shield Soldiers, Bowstring Soldiers, Dog Soldiers and the Northern Crazy Dogs. Every person had a responsibility to protect the people through this totally democratic government. But as missionaries and teachers demolished the culture, so did they demolish both democracy and the ability of the People to defend their own interests. Recently, the tribal council chairman declined to swear in officials with a Red pipe, saying there were so many denominations of churches who all had their own bibles, and besides, there wasn't a Sacred Pipe around.

The Case of Eugene Rowland

The efforts of the Crow and Northern Cheyenne People are part of a surge of native people raising demands for control over their lands and their destinies.

The native upsurge has been met with a backlash reaction from many whites in the near-reservation areas. Over the past year, these responses have become organized beyond the local level, sometimes holding national meetings. One group that belongs to the reactionary "Interstate Congress on Civil Rights and Responsibilities" is "Montanans Opposed to Discrimination" — both groups are strongly anti-Indian. They view the rights of native peoples as a threat to their own way of life, and many of their members are businessmen eager to cash in on the coal development in their areas.

Harassment of activists on the reservations has been on the increase as well. One incident is indicative. Eugene Rowland, a Lakota who has been living in Lame Deer on the Cheyenne Reservation, was arrested by Northern Cheyenne Chief of Police Rudy King, Jr., and held hand-cuffed in the reservation jail for five days. Rowland was forced to eat his food without using hands or utensils, lapping it like an animal, because King considered him to be "suicidal" — though King made no attempt to take Rowland across the street to the Indian Health Service clinic or a nearby alcoholism facility. Rowland is known to be a supporter of the American Indian Movement.

On reviewing a complaint about this sadistic treatment, the Northern Cheyenne Police Commission suspended

One has to ask why the *Billings Gazette* has so suddenly become interested in Northern Cheyenne tribal court affairs. The issue is coal.

The legal situation in Montana is already oppressive — of the 472 inmates in the Montana State Prison, 83 are native men.

A Threat to the Land Threatens Water And Air

A resource such as coal can't be developed without chain-reaction effects on the other resources found in the same environment. One worry is over water.

Enormous quantities of water would be consumed in the process of generating electric power, turning coal into natural gas, and shipping coal slurry via pipeline. Besides these direct uses of Montana's limited water supply, there is another concern. Water flows through underground "aquifer" systems within the coal seams. When these systems are disrupted by mining, the effect could be to lower the water table in the surrounding lands, even far from the mine sites themselves.

Unlike the Cheyennes who oppose development, the Crow have leaned toward considering the possibilities of "beneficial" lease deals with the coal companies, or of developing the coal resources themselves. To do so, they will need water, and so the Council has taken the State of Montana to court over rights to water in the Big Horn River, which bounds the reservation. They fear that use of the Big Horn's water by non-Indian interests will leave them high and dry.

"These are our waters, according to treaties with the United States," says Leonard Bends, Crow program officer. "The state has long-range goals, but so do we. We absolutely need water, not only for mining, but for our own ranches, for game, for reclamation of our reservation, for our youth camp, for fishing, for our future development, for our present life on the reservation. If we have no water, we may as well stop talking about planning."

Recently, there was controversy among the Crow when the tribal chairman, Pat Stands Over Bull, tried to kick out the Crow's attorney for refusing to go along with his pressures to cut out part of the Crow suit without the consent of the Council. But the attorney serves at the discretion of the Council, and the Council came down hard on Stands Over Bull for his action.

The Crow have a more substantial treasury than do the Cheyenne. Their reservation is three times as large, and boasts more than three times the arable land, which is largely non-Crow owned or leased. As well, the Crow receive \$1-million per year from a coal strip mine north of the reservation.

While the Crow struggle internally and ferociously over money from mining, the land already stripped for their present income awaits approval of the impact statement.

A recent survey of Crow People showed that while many Crows favor some strip mining and energy facility development, they do not want the pollution and social impacts that would accompany the projects. The survey also concluded that most members are "greatly deficient in their knowledge about coal-related developments," but most members are aware of their ignorance of these matters, and want more information. 81% of the Crows said they would favor a moratorium on all coal mining and power plant construction until more can be learned about the impact of such development.

Air — clean air, that is — is the subject of another set of legal proceedings. The Northern Cheyenne have sought to have their nationlands granted "Class I" status by the Environmental Protection Agency, which would then permit only slight increases in pollutants. The culprit at this time is not on the reservation, but in Colstrip, 15 miles north of the reservation line, where there are now two generating plants, and two more on the drawing boards. The Northern Cheyenne have been joined in that fight against the destructive effects of the Colstrip installations by the Northern Plains Resource Council, a group of ranchers and environmentalists in Montana who have been opposing irrational coal developments, and by a national organization, Friends of the Earth. The EPA has agreed to consider the Northern Cheyenne application for Class I status before making a final determination on how much pollution would be permitted from the proposed new plants at Colstrip.

However, U.S. District Court Judge James Battin of Billings has ruled that the Colstrip units 20 miles north of the reservation are not subject to federal significant deterioration regulations, which provide for Class I designation. An appeal is planned. Battin says that the Cheyennes would have had to protest before the contracts were signed in order to get protection from the Environmental Protection Act.

But almost as fast as the native people find ways to control their lands and futures, new threats to the region crop up as technicians and planners dream up new schemes. WESCO Resources, a Billings firm, recently revealed intention to develop a major strip-mine just across the Tongue River from the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The facility would involve construction of a new railroad line, and would wreck a highly-productive alluvial valley. Reclamation is highly questionable because of the complex water system in valley floors.

Many of the other projects envisioned in the North Central Power Survey are proceeding despite challenges from concerned residents of their areas.

The threat even crosses national borders. To the north, the Fort Peck Peoples have joined with non-Indian residents of the area to oppose the Saskatchewan Power Commission's plan to construct a number of coal-fired power plants four miles north of the border. Envisioned is a complex that will be seven times the size of the contested Colstrip four-unit facility, including the damming of the Poplar River just north of the U.S. border. The communities to the south would have severely-diminished water supplies and potentially massive air pollution.

And the rush is on for that other black money-maker, oil, in the sixty-mile wide "overthrust belt" which extends from mid-Utah northerly along the Wyoming/Idaho border and through western Montana into Canada. Because it is a relatively-difficult terrain in which to drill for oil, it has not been exploited until the recently intensified pay-any-price search for oil resources. Now a senior oil analyst at a Wall Street investment firm says this is "the most exciting on-shore play in the United States." The overthrust belt is in the area of the Flathead Reservation.

(Thanks to James Ridgeway writing in Penthouse, Bruce Winters in the Baltimore Sun, High Country News, Gail Adler of the Navajo Times, Vince Lovett, Constance Uri, UIPA News, The Northern Plains Resource Council's Plain Truth, the Friends of the Earth's Not Man Apart, Steve Rattner of the New York Times, for parts of the information used here. Thanks also to Wotaninwowapi, the Assiniboine & Sioux newspaper of Fort Peck, published at POBox 493, Poplar, Montana, and Tsistsistas Press, published on the Cheyenne Reservation at Lame Deer, Montana 59043.)

Remember how the United States HAD to have the Alaskan Pipeline immediately or face imminent doom?

Remember how the pipeline HAD to go through Alaska, because that was the quickest way to get it here?

Remember how Alyeska, the pipeline consortium, originally declined to prepare an environmental impact statement because it would delay construction, and the pipeline's construction was said to be absolutely vital to America's 'energy independence'?

Remember?

Then perhaps you choked up a little when you saw the Associated Press story last summer: "By the time oil begins flowing through the Alaska Pipeline in 1978, the West Coast may no longer need it, the Federal Energy Administration says."

ALASKA OIL; A PIPELINE OF DESPAIR

When the pipeline was first proposed, opposing environmentalists argued that it would blight the Alaskan environment, completely disrupt the state's economic and social structure, and finally, disgorge the oil where it was least needed. Now it seems the environmentalists were quite correct.

Thousands of job seekers have swamped Alaska's social service system, and created a crime wave in the cities of the wilderness. Environmental regulations have been violated, and now the oil industry admits that the West Coast cannot handle the volume of oil the pipeline will deliver.

The Pacific fishing industry dreads the increased oil spills from the new supertanker traffic. San Francisco will get a large Arco and Dow petrochemical complex which will industrialize the agricultural North Bay and increase tanker traffic.

Now that the pipeline is through, the government and corporations are wondering what it is going to do with all the oil. As the environmental wreckage is compounded in the insanity, now another pipeline is being proposed — this time from Long Beach, California, to Midland, Texas. Sohio is working now on getting the necessary permits for that job. That would mean 18 to 20 ships a month would have to discharge their cargo in the already polluted atmosphere of Los Angeles.

The pipeline project is opposed by both environmentalists, and independent energy experts like Harry Braun, who told a hearing in Arizona that "oil is an energy we should be rapidly moving away from. We should be developing wind energy, hydrogen energy, and mainly solar energy," he told a hearing. "We will not allow the large oil companies to continue hacking up the earth, allowing a few to make a profit, and making the rest of us breathe the pollution."

Governor Raul Castro, however, endorsed the proposal because it would bring "jobs and revenue" to Arizona.

Courtesy of the Nixon Administration

The other alternative for marketing the glut is to export the oil to other countries — but this is expressly prohibited by law. In 1973, when the Alaska Pipeline Act was under consideration, members of Congress suspected the oil companies wanted to be able to export to Japan — especially when the companies insisted on a route to salt water at Valdez, Alaska, instead of to the natural domestic market in the Chicago and midwestern areas.

The rapid construction of the pipeline was made possible after the Nixon Administration pushed through Congress a law that prevented environmentalists from obtaining delays. Vice President Spiro Agnew — remember him? — cast a tie-breaking vote on the key amendment on July 17, 1973.

During hearings on the bill, the oil companies had been accused of planning for export, but they strongly denied it. But the Senate Interior Committee so distrusted the companies that they put in a statutory prohibition, which can be avoided if the President of the U.S. certifies to Congress that the export is in the "national interest". Now, that is what the companies say is the case, and much of the oil is destined for Japan.

But if the oil companies were eager to get the oil flowing in 1973, they are even more desperate now. Costs have soared from an original projection of \$900-million to \$7.7-billion. Although a congressional subcommittee staff reported that the pipeline detection system could overlook a leak of as much as 50,000 gallons a day, the industry wants to get the oil flowing.

Semi-military restrictions on access to the pipeline have made outside observation by conservation-minded experts almost impossible.

However, Friends of the Earth and Wilderness Society reports charge that spilled fuel oil, junk and untreated sewage have scarred the tundra at construction camps along the pipeline. Where the line crosses streams, some banks are eroding, silting the water and damaging waterlife. The real fear, however, is that faulty welds could lead to an oil-spill-created wasteland.

If a spill should occur, says Prof. Donald Mackay of the University of Toronto, "The only answer we have so far is to fence off the entire area and leave it alone for a decade or more. Everything within that fence would be dead."

Another pipeline is being proposed from the port of Kitimat, British Columbia. Huge unwieldy supertankers, potential hazards to the valuable fisheries there, would unload. The hazard is increased by the narrow, winding entrance to the port, the longest approach in the world to an oil off-loading terminal. Some corners have 90 and 120 degree turns. Most accidents leading to oil spills take place at entrances much less difficult.

The tankers would likely start getting rid of their bilge water about 30 miles off the Queen Charlotte Islands. The result elsewhere has been huge tarballs littering the high seas.

The supertankers would be loaded at Valdez, Alaska. There, the treacherous wind and weather conditions create other hazards. First, the tankers must sail through the Valdez Narrows, where winds can exceed 200 mph, something like trying to thread a needle in a hurricane. Right in the middle of the Narrows is a dangerous rock barrier. No ship as large as a supertanker has ever even attempted the feat.

Besides the oil, there is the problem of transporting natural gas. There are two primary plans: one is the U.S. consortium called Arctic Gas, which would build eastward on the coastal plain bordering the Beaufort Sea to the Mackenzie River, then south through land belonging to native people to Alberta, and from there to the west coast and the midwest. The second plan is that of El Paso Natural Gas, which would parallel the Alyeska pipeline from Prudhoe Bay south to Valdez, then liquifying the gas and shipping it in tankers to southern California.

A third route has been suggested recently by Northwest Pipeline Corporation of Salt Lake City, which follows the Alyeska corridor for 545 miles to Delta Junction, and then picks up the Alcan Highway.

The Claims Act: Another Broken Treaty?

While the 1971 Claims Act both confirmed the native people of the land in their ownership, it also stripped them of their ownership and rights. In exchange, the Act provides certain benefits. But the Interior Department has shown a decided reluctance to implement the Act.

Vested interests have been pressuring a passive bureaucracy in much the same way that treaties have been historically subverted. The big game hunters and recreational interests are worried that native people might limit easy access to hunting. Business and political circles are interested in increasing the native economic power as consumers and investors, without allowing them to have any real economic or political power.

Already there are conflicts between the State Commission of Fish and Game and the Inuit of Barrow over the caribou hunt. The State says it has spent "thousands of hours" doing aerial counts of the caribou and they say the herd has dwindled from 140,000 animals to only 50,000 over the last seven years. The North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee, made up of Inuit, dispute the state estimates, saying the apparent reduction in size is just due to migration.

So the first test of the state's ability to limit hunting by native people, which, they find out, was apparently lost when the Claims Act was passed, will come when Alaska's Public Safety Commissioner Richard Burton tries to prosecute violators of the Game Commission's regulations. The state has sent in agents to enforce the rules.

Barrow Magistrate Sadie Neakok, a lifelong resident and Barrow's only court official, has disqualified herself from any case involving caribou violations. "There is too much personal-type feeling among my own people for me to enforce it in my court," she says.

She adds that there is a shortage of meat in Barrow, because ice conditions were too dangerous to permit seal hunting, and much of the whale harvest was lost because of a shortage of boats. She added, "It costs \$85 for a beef dinner for one family." Governor Jay Hammond had asked the U.S. Department of Agriculture to supply meat as disaster aid to the area, but the request was denied.

Barrow was issued only 375 permits — less than one caribou per household — by the state.

Another hunting rights case involves Carlos Frank, an Athabascan from Minto, who was arrested for transporting a cow moose shot out of season in October, 1975. The moose was used in a funeral potlatch honoring Delnor Charlie, who had recently passed away.

Attorneys arguing the case for Frank are taking a sideways approach: they contend that the hunting regulations violate Frank's freedom of religion. The use of fresh moose meat is essential to the funeral potlatch. More than 200 people attended the ceremony.



Oliphant, Denver Post

Both plans are hazardous. The Arctic Gas route would cut across the great Arctic National Wildlife Range, one of America's last preserves, through the coastal calving grounds of one of North America's last caribou herds, through nesting territory of waterfowl, and across a magnificent landscape of mountains, rivers, tundra, sea.

Unlike the Arctic Range, the former wilderness terrain due south of the Prudhoe Bay oilfield has now been irrevocably breached by bulldozers, truckloads of 48-inch pipe, and armies of workmen and equipment.

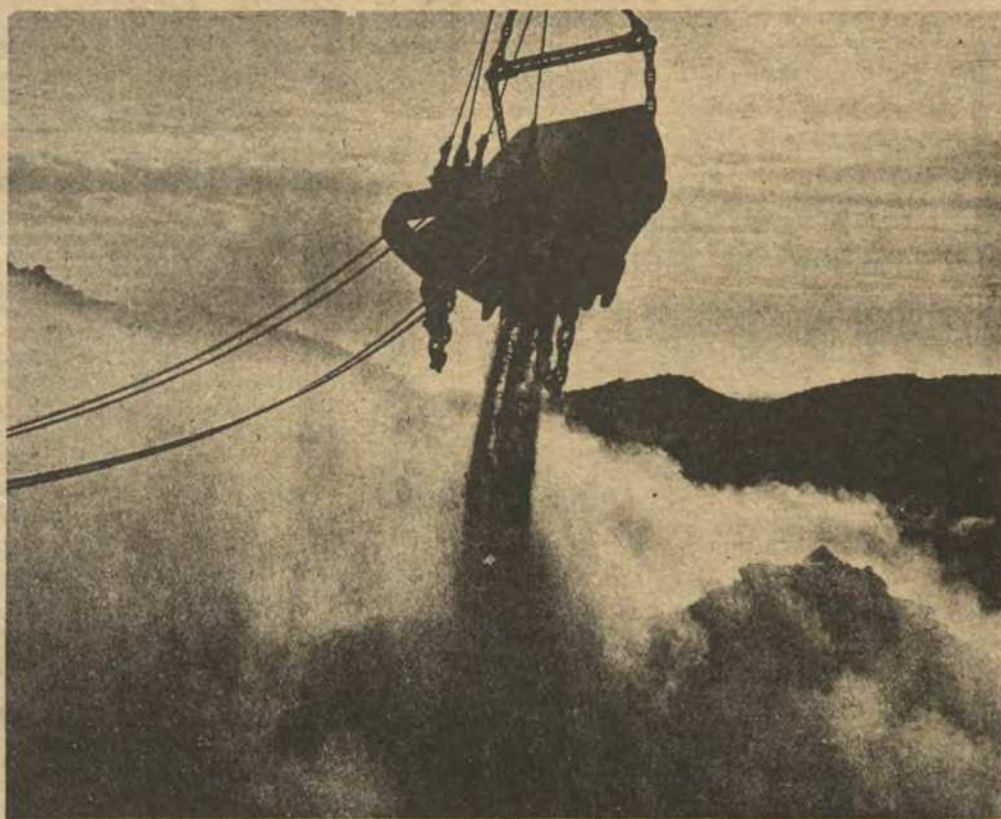
Native officials reading the fine print in the Claims Act worry that future interpretations could cause them to have to pay property taxes on their land holdings.

Another problem is "easements". The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act gave native people ownership of 40-million acres of land — but it gave authority to the Secretary of Interior to guarantee public access across native lands to reach public lands. This authority has been abused by Interior, which has set aside the entire coastline and huge chunks in other areas. Native leaders

say that there will be trespass difficulties and destruction of subsistence resources if the easements are allowed to stand.

Most of the easements parallel both banks of streams. Although the native community was to be part of the process according to the Claims Act, they have, in fact, been excluded from the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission, which is making decisions and recommendations.

Five of the regional corporations took the Interior Department into U.S. court last June to stop the present process of granting easements across their land.



— UMW Journal
photo by Earl Dotter
After the pipeline comes the supertankers, and after the supertankers come more pipelines, and after more pipelines comes the strip-mining of Alaska, and after the strip-mining?

Now that many native rights have been terminated, the native people are caught between the desire to keep their land and lives good, and the need to encourage exploitation by the corporations in order to survive. They are encouraged to cash in on the bonanza by the white business interests.

In Yakutat, for instance, a native majority has sharply limited the intrusion of off-shore drilling interests by imposing a tax on the oil firms, forbidding them to own land in their community, banning shore-based storage and production facilities. The white people of the community, however, charge their "civil rights" are being violated by the native majority. The whites own one of the town's two grocery stores, both motels, all four restaurants, two of three bars, the single hardware-dry goods store, two air taxi services, and the electric company.

Bryan Mallott, a young native leader in Yakutat, notes that the tension had always been there, but not sharply. "Along came this huge opportunity, and blammo — who was there in control but the people who never had a pot to piss in before — the natives," says Mallott.

"Our reaction is that we don't want all this explosive development. It made a lot of the white businessmen mad and the feelings were intensified by the belief among many whites that the Native Claims Act was a big rip-off. Many of the whites think the natives are taking something away from them, something they could have, and should have if it wasn't for us," he says.

The transition in some communities is severe and problem-ridden. In Kotzebue, for example, there is a jet airplane service, a modern 72-room hotel, hospitals and groceries, teenagers who end every sentence with "you know, man". In its search for a financial future, Kotzebue urges tourists to come and sample "life in an Eskimo village." But little, if any, distinctiveness as an Eskimo village has survived.

There are staged demonstrations of seal oil lamps and fishing gear, sort of a Williamsburg-North. At a reindeer camp, huskies wait to give tourists sleigh-rides, but the sleigh is on wheels to accommodate summer visitors who want to be towed a few dozen yards and back. A few token reindeer are in the "reindeer corral" looking sad and withdrawn. All this in the name of economic development. About 10,000 tourists come each summer to Kotzebue, arriving in groups of about 125, staying overnight, cared for by a generation of Eskimo bellhops, chambermaids and waitresses.

On Kodiak Island, a lush place of rolling hills and forests dominated by the Kodiak Wildlife Refuge, native fishermen are upset about the U.S. Government's plans to sell Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas leases in the Gulf of Alaska, since the fish-rich waters are certain to be ruined. But the native regional corporation, Koniag, Inc., was set up under the Claims Act to make money, not to look out for the interests of the native fishermen, and so it favors the development.

Koniag has been meeting with Saudi Arabian private investors about the possibility of joint bidding in the gas lease — the bargain would be native land with Arabian money.

Alaska's new-style colonialism is benevolent, modern — and just as devastating. The new Barrow High School has to have athletics, of course, featuring highly competitive sports such as basketball, of course, and although the non-Eskimo population of Barrow is well under 10% of the total, the coach and four of the five starting players are non-Eskimos.

Just the operation of a modern-style high school on the North Slope is staggering. For the 125 students, the annual bill just for utilities — natural gas, water, and electricity — is \$600,000. The athletic department has to spend \$205,000 mostly to jet the teams to Fairbanks and other places. As Earl Gustkey described it in a recent *Los Angeles Times* article, "The front row of the bleachers was reserved for Barrow's senior citizens — old Eskimos in native attire who sat expressionless, yet attentive, through both games. The Claims Act has also brought a whole new class of legal conflict — two Kodiak natives, Bernard Wamser and Frances Shugak are being tried for fraud. The pair are officials of Shuyak, Inc., a native corporation set up under the Claims Act. They enrolled native people to the community they call Shuyak, and which the Government calls Port Williams. The U.S. claims that the village is not a "native village" — but the People enrolled there claim it as an "ancestral home" to which they may return under the Claims Act, even though they don't reside there now.

The defendants had moved that the case be dismissed on the grounds that the grand jury that conducted the investigation leading to the indictments was bias. The court ruled against that. Then, after a public opinion survey firm, Rowan Group, Inc., presented a poll that showed it would be very difficult to have a fair trial in Anchorage because a majority of Anchorage residents were found to be strongly biased against Alaska Native People.

Koniag, Inc., the regional native corporation for the Kodiak Island area, has requested an investigation into the method of selecting federal juries in Alaska. Karl Armstrong, a corporation official, said he was "shocked and dismayed" by the findings of racial prejudice in Anchorage. He said that an investigation would show that the present system of federal jury selection deprives Alaska native People of their human rights and civil liberties. He said that federal juries were selected in a manner which "systematically and methodically eliminates Alaska Natives as jurors." Most federal juries are selected from Anchorage residents. Most native people live in the rural areas of Alaska. Despite the obvious slanted selection which geography alone imposes in Alaska, Judge von der Heydt challenged the Rowan Group report, telling director Michael Rowan, "What you are saying, sir, is an attack upon the entire jury system that's been in existence for hundreds of years."

The two native officials are trapped in a bureaucratic nightmare. The Bureau of Indian Affairs certified Shuyak as a Native Village, but other agencies of the federal government continue to protest the decision. The eligibility of Shuyak to receive land and money is now before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington. All the two officials did was to list native applicants for membership in the village according to the BIA ruling. There is also a suit in U.S. District Court in which the Inupiat People of the Arctic Slope are suing more than 120 parties for trespassing on their lands prior to passage of the Claims Act. The defendants include the State of Alaska, oil companies, and various contractors.

The case has finally gotten started after 13 months of paper filing and legal maneuvering. State Attorney General Avrum Gross and Anchorage Attorney Richard Gantz, representing the defendants, want the case dismissed. They say that if the case is allowed to proceed, trespass suits will be filed all over the state, and that a "bleak period of litigation" would set in, pitting native People against whites.

The trespass case stems from a 1971 suit filed by Charles Edwardsen, Jr., of Barrow, who charged that the Secretary of Interior had failed in his responsibility to protect the Inupiat from trespass. He claimed the trespassers had caused serious damage to the land and people. After years of hearing, the courts ruled that the claims might be valid, and the U.S. Justice Department was told to sue the alleged trespassers.

The Alaskan Attorney General argued that all native claims were terminated by the land Claims Act. He said the native People should no longer have the right to sue for the killed animals, damaged hunting camps and graveyards, the removal of valuable property, the pollution of water supplies.

So first it was gold, then timber, then oil — to be extracted from Alaska. And next it may be the coal. Some geologists estimate that a trillion tons — estimated to be a 2,000 year supply for the U.S. at current rates of production. Some of the deposits are hundreds of feet thick — a heritage for all eternity which an energy-addicted society intends to burn as rapidly as it can.

The problem is that getting it out would be another environmental disaster — and once dug, it can't be shipped out. Alaska now mines only about a million tons annually of the 600-million tons the U.S. consumes each year.

To get out the coal would mean railroads, ports, new towns — and likely, strip mining. Recently, U.S. Interior Secretary Thomas Kleppe signed a contract with Kaiser Engineers to analyse the costs of strip-mining coal on Alaska's North Slope. One idea the engineers are toying with is liquifying the coal, and pumping it out after the oil and gas has been exhausted — which won't be all that far in the future. Arnold Miller, president of United Mine Workers, suggests that the present pipe-line corridors be used for still another coal-slurry pipeline.

Now that the U.S. has become energy-addicted, it will pay any price to feed its habit, and even though the coal that would arrive from Alaska would be nearly as valuable as gold, there would be those willing to pay.

The first white men who sailed into the glacier-sculptured bays of Alaska came on small sailing ships, in search of glory for their flag and profits for their companies.

The white men are still sailing in, and for the same reasons, but now they are coming in supertankers.



[Thanks to New Times, an Arizona alternate newspaper published weekly at 10 West Fourth St., Tempe, Arizona 85281, and to G. Michael Harmon of the Associated Press, Mary Jean Haley of Rolling Stone, Louis Hudson of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram. Thanks also to High Country News, an important environmental newspaper published at 140 N. Seventh St., Lander, Wyoming 82520. Thanks also to the Living Wilderness, a conservation magazine published quarterly by the Wilderness Society, 1901 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, and to columnists Jack Anderson and Les Whitten. Thanks to the Northern Times, B.C.'s Northern News Magazine published at 3210A Kalum St., Terrace, B.C., and to Tad Bartimus of AP. Thanks also to Tundra Times and Jeffrey R. Richardson for information used here.]

Following World War II, a small number of international corporations attempted to gain control of the remaining mineral and petroleum resources of the earth. During this period, a vast competitive struggle for these raw materials arose both among these corporations, and among the countries of Russia, Western Europe, and the United States of America.

Then, in the early 1970s, the large international petroleum companies suddenly announced an "energy crisis". The prices of raw materials escalated as they had never done in the past. As a result of these price increases, the big materials and energy firms began to search for new supplies of raw materials in almost every conceivable area of the world — the North Slope of Alaska, the Amazon Basin of South America, the Islands of the Pacific, the farthest and most-isolated parts of Africa, offshore and below the ocean floor, and even Antarctica.

THE COST OF YOUR OIL, COFFEE, TIN, IN LIVES

The game was the economic gain of those already wealthy, seeking to suck the last drops of resources from the earth, and leaving a raw, barren, bitter earth for their grandchildren to deal with.

The large Amazon Basin, which covers more than one-third of the land area of the South American continent, the last precarious homeland of South America's Original People, drew the attention of such name firms as Gulf, Texaco, Mobil in the late 1960s. At the same time, an equally large number of multinational mining companies such as United States Steel, Alcan Aluminum, and Rio Tinto Zinc began to explore the Amazon for iron ore, bauxite, manganese and tin.

While these companies blithely set about preparing their genocidal campaign, most North American anthropologists were still doing their usual esoteric thing, checking out myths and ritual and symbolism and "primitive warfare" and similar cultural tidbits of a soon-to-die people.

A few anthropologists, however, saw the dark hand of ethnocide being unleashed on the native People of the land, and tried to attract the attention of the ivory-tower world.

Shelton H. Davis and Robert O. Mathews of the Anthropology Resources Center of Cambridge, Massachusetts, have urged that since many of the corporations involved in the ruin and death of native people in South America are registered in the United States, it would be appropriate for the U.S. Government to impose some standards of conduct concerning indigenous populations and the environment.

The establishment press helps to hide the facts by presenting half-truths. "Brazilian Indians Murder Another White Man", the *Los Angeles Times* headlines. "Indians from the Amazon Kill Three in Raid," proclaims the *New York Times*.

Associated Press reflected the fate of the native People of Brazil by cynically noting: "The 100,000 Indians of Brazil are becoming extinct in the whirlwind of progress and modernization sweeping this South American country."

In previous years, it was impossible to hush up the scandal and the killings. Brutal methods of extermination were used mercilessly so that of the 1,200,000 native people who lived in the Amazon in 1960, according to an official census, only about 100,000 are left now.

A comparison of populations 28 years ago with now shows the depth of the tragedy: the Mundurucus, from 19,000 to 1,200 persons; Nhambiquaras, from 10,000 to 1,000; Carajas from 4,000 to 600; Xocrens, 800 to 200, and the Cintas-largaas, 10,000 to 400.

In November, the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil issued a strong condemnation of the government's failure to protect the country's native people from white encroachment. Roman Catholic missionaries have been banned by the government from all FUNAI outposts.

The Bishops had accused the government of "reducing the people to silence." They spoke out against "death squads" which have worked hand-in-hand with big land developers who have been throwing peasant farmers off their small plots and invading Indian lands.

Juan Bosco Penido Burnier, a Jesuit, had defended the rights of the native People in Western Brazil. He was fatally shot in the head on October 11 when he went to the jail in the village of Ribeirao Bonito to protest the torturing of two Indian women. Eight days after the Burnier murder, following a funeral mass, crowds of villagers erected a cross in front of the jail where Burnier was killed and proceeded to dismantle the building stone by stone.

Although the fate of the native people might be lamented in the press, in most cases, the connection with the population declines and the influx of the multinational companies is usually not mentioned.

Missionaries Separate Into Good Guys & Bad Guys

The Amazon Basin extends into Peru, where 36 groups of native people, comprising about 220,000 persons, relate to the land. Over the centuries, they have suffered from the intrusions of soldiers, missionaries, and diseases. For many groups, their first contact with white society came during the rubber and coffee booms of the late 1800s. Several groups were almost exterminated as a result of disease, clashes with rubber gatherers, and slave raids by colonists seeking Indian labor.

The geological teams which explored the western

Amazon for oil in the 1930s often met with violent resistance from native people. Even in the flurry of exploration in the late 1940s, Indian groups often resisted the encroachment of the oil companies.

Just as missionaries accompanied the conquistadores into the Amazon in the colonial period, missionaries have paved the way for the intrusion of the oil companies in the Twentieth Century. Between 1900 and 1940, for example, members of the Franciscan Order built several missions in the territory of the Campa near the Peruvian town of Pucallpa. Then, using Indian labor, they built roads and brought in colonists to grow coffee and raise cattle.

A North American Protestant missionary group, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, entered Peru in 1946. The SIL, with its schools, airplanes, and radio network, has been the only effective administration in many areas of the Amazon. Oil companies use SIL personnel to mediate disputes with native peoples.

Not all the human destruction has been offensive. In some cases, it just happens as native people sign up to work with exploration teams, clearing jungle areas and building helicopter pads. In Peru, perhaps 15,000 Indians abandoned their lands to search for employment with the oil companies. Most of them crowded into Iquitos, the center of the oil operation, where they failed to find work of any kind. Local food production dropped, and by 1976, over 70% of the food eaten in Iquitos had to be flown in from across the Andes. Prices, as a result, were exorbitant.

declined, first in Colombia, then in Ecuador, and most recently, in Peru. The collapse of the boom has brought with it problems for the peoples even graver than those brought by the boom itself.

"Pacification" Or Death

In 1968, the Brazilian Government created a new National Indian Foundation [FUNAI] and promised that it would provide legal protection to its remaining Indian Peoples. At this time, six Indian Parks and 17 Indian Reserves were created in the Amazon Basin. Not that this "protection" meant much — since the announcement, several major highways have been built through the Indian lands, and mining development seems to be going on unabated.

One of the parks was Aripuana Indian Park, established for the protection of the large Cintas Largas and Surui Peoples of Rondonia. The Cintas Largas had suffered a brutal massacre in 1963, which caused an international scandal leading to the disbandment of the former Indian Protection Service of Brazil. The fine print said that the government was keeping the mineral rights in the Park.

In December, 1971, the Brazilian press carried a series of stories about an "Indian uprising" in Aripuana Park. The President of FUNAI, General Oscar Geronimo Bandeira de Mello, placed the blame on certain "hostile" members of the Cintas Largas. By the spring of 1972, however, the truth came out — the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior had authorized mineral prospecting and colonization companies to enter the park. One large firm, Itaporanga, had settled over 500 families in the area.

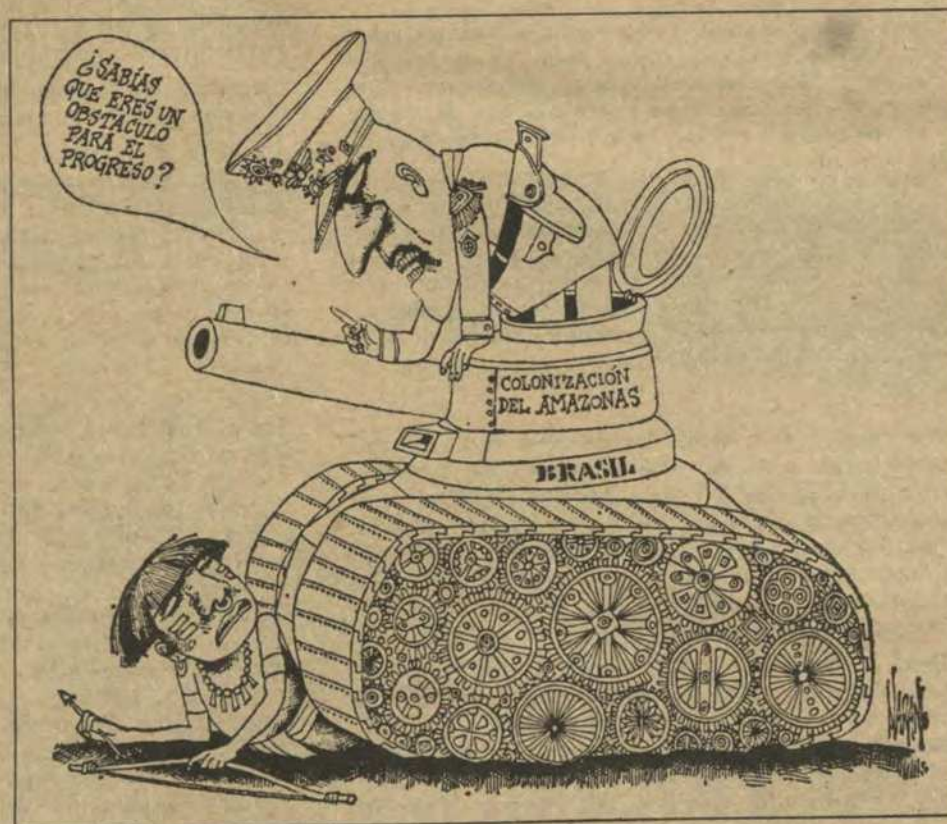
In March, 1972, Apoena Meirelles, the Park Director, sent a formal letter to FUNAI, describing how settlers had caused bloody clashes with the native people, and had spread fatal diseases. FUNAI refused to remove the settlers. In anger, Meirelles resigned, saying "I would rather die fighting alongside the Indians in defense of their lands and their right to live, than to see them tomorrow reduced to beggars on their own land."

The area of the Aripuana Park has one of the richest tin deposits in the world. As Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Galvao summed up the situation, the international mining companies "are not prepared to wait five, ten or twenty years while the Indians are contacted, pacified, and prepared for integration into our society."

Those then, were the alternatives: "pacification" or death.

Although a new Indian Policy came out afterwards with strong stalwart statements about how the Indians were to be protected by the government, again, the fine print said that in case of "national development interests", for example, native people could be rounded up and relocated.

"Are you aware that you are an obstacle to progress?"



Naranjo/Excelsior

The Peruvian Government passed a "Jungle Development Law" in 1974 aimed at providing some protection to native communities. But economic forces seem to be causing disintegration at such a rapid rate that the new law, giving land title to native communities, seemed to have little effect.

And so the familiar pattern seen in the Northwest Territories or Navajo Nation is the same as in the Amazon. Self-sufficient communities which cooperate in any way are integrated into the regional labor force, and made dependent on foreign supplies of goods. By mid-1970s, the welfare of these peoples had become dependent on national and international economies.

Nearly as soon as it began, the oil boom in the Western Amazon ended. Both exploration and discovery have

Joao Serbile of Sao Paulo bought from a rubber tree tapper a small lot inside the Apurinas reservation. With connivance of land registry officials, he occupied 341,000 hectares. He divided the property into small lots, and sold them to farmers at a huge profit. To build a plantation, he retained 18,000 hectares exactly in the area most inhabited by the Apurinas People.

In 1972, Serbile first told the Apurinas that he was the owner of the land they had always lived on. He promised he would treat them well, however, and even started to construct some new houses for them. But in 1974, he demanded the Apurinas to leave, and started destroying their little farm fields.

FUNAI agents looked on for five years. Then in

December, 1976, Jose Porfirio de Carvalho of FUNAI ordered Serbile expelled from the land. Serbile responded by blocking the plantation airstrip with tractors, but federal agents and local police were able to force his departure. The event made news precisely because it was so unique — a landowner had been forced out through FUNAI action.

But even without colonizers like Serbile, just the pressures of highways and railroads running through or near reservations make the native holdings vulnerable to urban expansion.

To survive the cultural and actual genocide, the starvation, diseases and vices, the prohibitions against hunting and fishing, many native people are reduced to having to eat spoiled meat of dead or dying animals to survive. In the chaos, the young people turn away from their spiritual leaders — destruction of the social structure completes the cultural genocide.



— Liberation News Service map

Remaining able-bodied Indians work as slaves on plantations, or for mining or lumber companies. Labor-recruiting agents called *gatos* wine and dine the slaves, called *boas fias* for a few days in small hotels they own. Then they pack the men into trucks to the work camps, and collect "finders fees" of so much for each man.

The boas fias earn 10 cents for 14 hours of labor, seven days a week. They are poorly fed, clothed, and housed. The occasional supply of prostitutes and liquor put them deeper into company debt. Guards watch them day and night, and torture or even kill those who try to escape.

Some of the coffee casually drunk by U.S. people is picked by these enslaved native brothers. Some of the special tires for race and sports cars and passenger jet planes include natural rubber that these brothers have picked.

The few Indians who reach towns and cities work in the most menial and least paid jobs. Right in affluent Sao Paulo, a tribe of Guarani People live in poverty under a bridge. Their urbanized neighbors enjoy watching TV or movies from Hollywood where good cowboys, pioneers, sheriffs and cavalry kill bad Indians in defense.

The more educated Brazilians watch regular TV color specials about happy, assimilated Indians. Newspapers report daily about the vanishing native population, and whenever a missionary or a landowner is killed or arrested, the newspapers run a review series on the "tragedy".

Meanwhile, Brazilian and European tourists take colored moving pictures of Indians in show villages, while anthropologists race against time to further their careers with a PhD. thesis, journal articles, or book publications. Anthropologists of liberal persuasion occasionally come to the Indians' defense — not for the sake of the Indians, but to complain that the only source of expert knowledge of Amazonian ecology is being wiped out, knowledge that is needed for civilization's exploitation of the area.

Business and consumption expand as usual in Brazil's "miracle" economy.

The Bulldozer As A Tool of Genocide

On the banks of the river Catrimani, in the jungle of Roraima where Brazil borders on Venezuela, one of the last indigenous nations of the area is being forced to abandon its culture and life-style — the survivors, that is. They are the Yanomami, around 8,000 persons, who since the arrival of noisy tractors and "civilized people" have been threatened with extinction. The new road the government is building through their lands, the "Perimetral Norte" or Northern Perimeter Road, has brought venereal and skin diseases, flu, measles, tuberculosis and malaria.

Brother Carlos Zacchini, an Italian missionary, had succeeded earlier in obtaining a promise from FUNAI that the road would not create any problems. FUNAI

promised to keep the whites under control within a radius of 100 kilometers of the Catrimani Mission.

Shortly after, the Yanomami ran to the mission to report giant bulldozers were ripping down the forest only 20 kilometers away, and a few days later, the tractors, trucks, and cranes arrived, and with them epidemics and death.

The President of FUNAI said that actually, there was no conflict — the Indians would be "integrated" into the Brazilian economy, and would "participate" in the development as owners of property. In every instance, the powerful economic interests are being accommodated.

Brazil is the classic modern example of the new partnership which has emerged between repressive military governments and multinational corporations in several countries in the world. This partnership has done nothing to solve the pressing problems of hunger, poverty, and unemployment faced by the vast majority of the Brazilian population. In fact, the new "developments" have further marginalized the large working and peasant populations, and only a small part of the Brazilian population has benefitted.

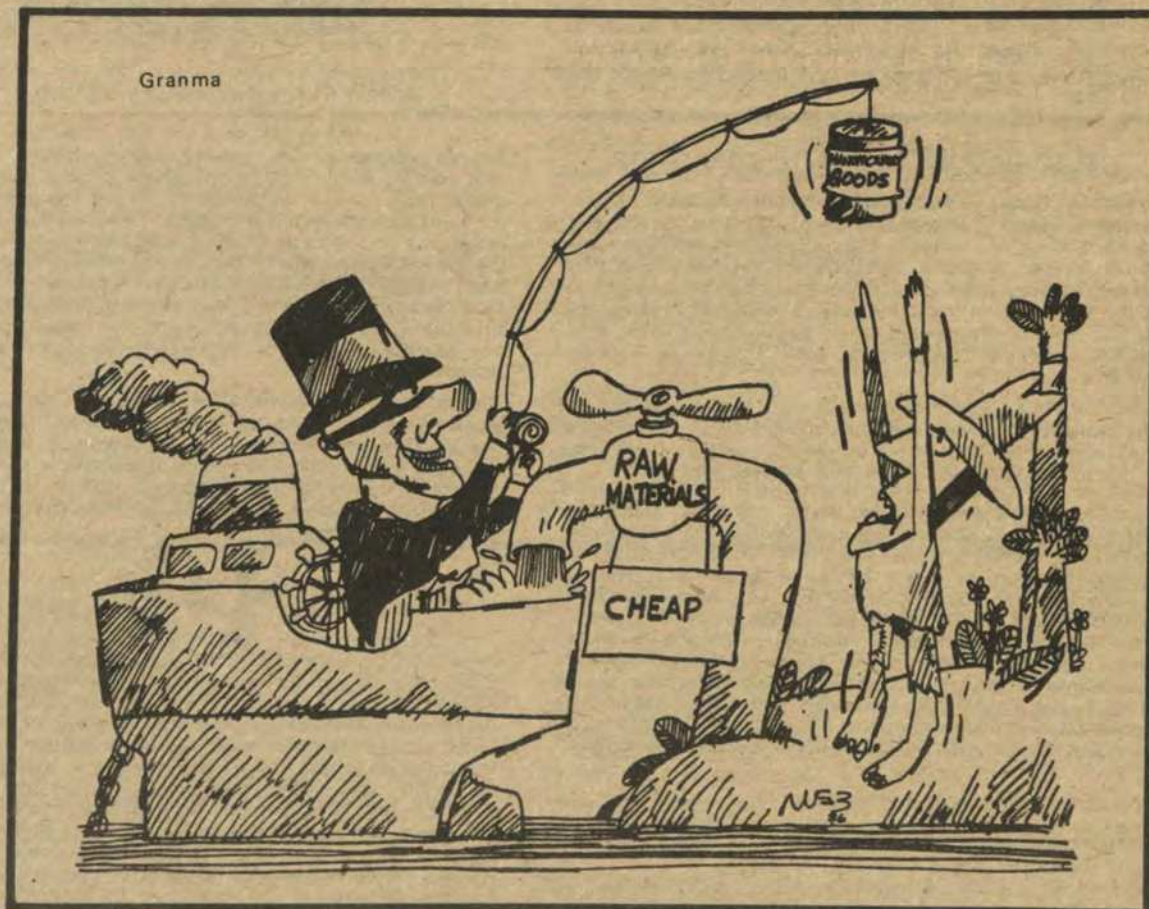
When a large uranium deposit was found on the lands of the Yanomami People in February, 1975, General Fernando Ramos Pereira, the governor of the Territory of Roraima, expressed his view of what was going to happen in the conflict of interests: "I am of the opinion that an area as rich as this — with gold, diamonds, and uranium — cannot afford the luxury of conserving a half-a-dozen Indian tribes who are holding back the development of Brazil."

The pattern of settlement is for poor people to move onto lands as squatters — *posseiros* — to raise food for their families. A government agency, INCRA, then issues identification cards of residence, and encourages posseiros to act like legal owners. Then middle-class landowners offer money to the posseiros to sell their holdings, and they bribe INCRA agents to certify their ownership. Then the rich large landowners move in, with their private armies who burn out and shoot any posseiros who refuse to be bought out at low prices.



Another pattern is exhibited in the case of Daniel Ludwig, a U.S. shipping billionaire and sole owner of the conglomerate National Bulk Carriers, Inc., who bought an estate of 1.2-million hectares, equal to 1/3 the size of Holland, in 1967 for \$10-million. The former "owners", descendants of Brazilian nobility, had a royal grant of ownership which was granted by a King of Portugal in his generous giving of native People's lands.

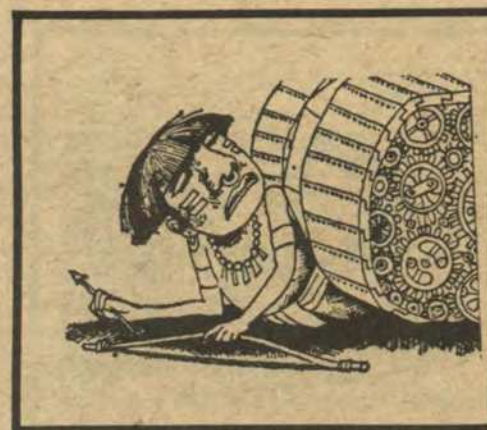
Ludwig has invested up to \$10-billion in the operation, known as the Jari Project, and he has 7000 workers building rice fields, lumbering for paper pulp, raising cattle, mining. There are airports and shipping harbors. Ludwig does not pay taxes, and imports machines and other equipment free of customs inspection and duties. He also receives subsidies from state and federal governments.



The native people who used to live in the area, of course, have had to move on.

The People's Resistance Intensifies

Some Peoples simply resist contact with the invaders, knowing that contact with civilization is deceptive and disastrous. Others are resisting, like Tapirapes and



Carajas, who oppose their transfer to infertile lands so that agribusiness with government subsidies could enter their reservation.

Armed expulsion is another tactic. From 1973, 4500 Malus got tired with unfriendly contacts with travelling salesmen and land invaders, and countered by preventing their entry onto their lands. And then there is outright war: Guajajaras have had to fight against those who would invade their lands.

Seven years ago, a group of 800 Surui People stepped into a clearing in the rain-forest and picked up knives, axes, and scissors left as gifts by Brazilian Government pacification agents. Now, the Surui number only 200, after most of their people died of measles and tuberculosis. Those teenagers who survived now are clothed — with sleek pocketless slacks and platform shoes, imitating the fashion of the young whites of the Amazon frontier towns of Rondonia.

In November, 1976, Oreia, a young acculturated leader, of the Suruis, was assassinated by colonial invaders, and FUNAI closed the post where the Surui came for meetings. Angered, the Surui captured the FUNAI post and chased the agents out. Anini, whose leadership became influential after the assassination, used with ease the captured post's portable radio receiver-transmitter, and told the government it had better take action, or they would use the rifles and stores of ammunition they found at the post to attack nearby small settlements.

"We want what is ours," Anini told the officials over the radio. "We are tired of FUNAI promises. We will abandon the post and go to the jungle — and leave everything here broken. The FUNAI will look for us and not find us anymore."

However, when the director of FUNAI himself intervened, his move was accepted as a mark of good faith. But 25 rebels, led by another leader, Kadio, did not return the rifles and fled to the jungle with their families. However, they were located later by government helicopters.

Another incident took place with the Bororos, who were attempting to mark off the boundaries of their lands, lands which were confirmed to them in 1918 by the governor of the state. However, landowners objected. While the tribal missionary and four Bororos, including their religious leader, were clearing a field with a tractor, they heard shots. Sixty armed farm-

workers and the landowner had attacked a nearby border-marking party. The Bororos fought back. The people killed were tragic symbols of the 500-year-old oppression of the native People of the Land: one Indian, one missionary, one soldier, and one settler's son. As usual, the leader and the one who benefitted the most from the oppression, the landowner, escaped alive.

(continued on next page)



The response of the Bororos and their neighbors, the Xavantes, was progressive and organized with a high level of consciousness. The farmstead of one of the massacre leaders was immediately surrounded by 150 armed Xavante guerrilla warriors.

Armed groups of Bororos went out with government surveyors to mark out the 170-kilometer-long border of their 79,000 hectares (about 170,000 acres). All landowners inside Bororo territory immediately abandoned their holdings.

In order to avoid provocations that would bring about massive retaliations, the native leaders follow a procedure. When a landowner or his employees are seen inside the territory, the person is captured, and his documents seized. He is then turned over to the military. When the Bororos learned that one of the assassins was freed, they stopped the demarcation — the military arrested and reimprisoned the man immediately, and the Bororos ordered the demarcation resumed.

This unusual government cooperation was made possible only through the orders of Justice Minister Falcão after an emergency meeting.

Bororo cacique Lourenço Rondon suffered five gunshot wounds in the massacre. He accuses the nearby town mayor of leading invasions and provoking conflicts. "Now we Bororos respect the law and continue to confide in authorities," Rondon says. "But if the law does not resolve the problem, we will follow the counsel of Xavantes, who are warriors."

Rondon continued, "My people are still calm. But Xavantes, who are at our side because they have suffered like us, when they decide something, nobody can change their minds. They will wait for only a short time for authorities to do justice."

Rondon had tried to come to Canada to represent native People of Brazil at the 1975 World Conference of Indigenous People, but FUNAI would not allow him to leave the country. He plans to propose to the next Bororo-Xavante council that a long letter be sent to the United Nations, relating their problems and asking that these aggressions be denounced outside of Brazil.

Warriors of 1600 Xavantes have invaded the plantations, burnt houses, and expelled employees from the lands. To prevent new invasions, Xavantes control their lands by building new villages at strategic points.

Semi-aculturated peoples like Xavantes have read *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee* in Portuguese translations, and say they do not intend to repeat the

tragic massacres of the Lakota and other peoples of North America.

Pressures brought by Ralph Nader [see box] and organizations like INDIGENA to awaken the U.S. Congress into action on the Brazilian situation may be bearing fruit. It is likely Senator Frank Church's Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations may hold hearings next Autumn to focus serious attention on the role of multinational corporations in the Amazon.

"These peoples, by virtue of their positive values, constitute a living denial of the capitalist system as well as the values of a so-called 'Christian civilization'. The time has come to announce, in hope, that he who would have to die is the one who *must* live," the bishops concluded.

Many people believe that all the talk of opening up the lands for settlement by impoverished Brazilians is only so much political camouflage for what is going on behind. Large foreign companies like Liquigas are taking advantage of cheap land, cheap labor, and tax inducements to notch up high profits and give little in return. Meanwhile, the new settlers arrive at their promised land to find that crops fail after a few seasons, and the cost of basic commodities is five times what it was back in settled areas.

"There's a big aerial survey going on right now," says John Hemming of the British Aborigines Protection Society. "They have a Caravelle painted to look like an ordinary airliner, although in fact it's stuffed with

infra-red sensory equipment. It's run by an American company [Litton?] on a multi-million dollar contract. The irony is that they are using the Indian outposts for the survey."

"The chap who pulls the trigger and shoots an Indian is only working from a long chain of command, back to [an American or European] who would be horror-struck by what had happened. He'd say, 'It's those terrible people in South America,' notes Dr. Ronald Melville, a British botanist. "I don't take that view at all — it's from here that the directives are given. It is from here that any solution will have to be found."

Dr. Conrad Gorinsky, an ethnobotanist engaged in chemical research at St. Bartholomew's College of Medicine in London, has pragmatic reasons as well as moral ones for wanting to keep the native peoples from extinction. Noting the decrease in untamed plant species, he believes that international teams of botanists should establish a program to consult and accept the authority of the only people who have proved their command of knowledge of plants — the native peoples. "His authority should not be dismissed out of prejudice on the grounds that his sages and doctors happen to be wearing feathers rather than caps and gowns," Gorinsky says.

[Thanks to the "Geological Imperative" by Shelton H. Davis and Robert O. Mathews, published by Anthropology Resource Center, and available from AKWESASNE NOTES for \$3.]

[Thanks also to Don Goertzen in *Sojourners*, Los Angeles Times News Service, Granma, Richard Foster of the Associated Press, and Thomas Butson and Barbara Slavin of the New York Times News Service, for information used here.]



— Liberation News Service photo by W. Jesco Von Puttkamer

A FUNAI scout approaches a group of Cinta Larga for "pacification".

THE SURVIVORS OF BRAZIL'S GENOCIDE

Rondonia: Tupari, Arikapu, Sabane, Kawahib, Surui, Gavião, Purubora, Urupa, Arara, Karipuna, Kakaas Novas and Karitiana. In this territory, disorganized land settlement has caused serious problems, especially for the Surui and New Pakaa. The Surui were extremely hard-hit by the construction of the Cuiabá-Porto Velho highway. The New Pakaa had part of their lands divided up and settled by colonists brought in by INCRA [National Institute of Colonization & Agrarian Reform].

Acre: Jaminawa, Manitenneri, Kaxinawa, Kulina and Kampa. The situation remains delicate, as FUNAI is just starting to work in the area. Most of the people are living in almost total slavery in the rubber plantations and lumber factories.

Amazonas: Payanawa, Marubo, Maya, Katukina, Tamanawa, Darui, Jamamadi, Kaxarari, Apurina, Maupari, Jarauara, Juma, Parintintin, Morerebi, Boca-Preta, Mura-Puraha, Orelha de Pau, Apiaka, Munduruku, Mawé, Tikuna, Maku, Tucano, Wanana, Tariana, Kobewa, Baniwa, Madawaka, Guaharibo, Pakidai & Aiwateri. Only 25,000 left. Some groups are still completely isolated, while others, such as the Tucanoas of the Upper Rio Negro and the Tikunas of the Upper Solimões River, are completely acculturated. There are problems of land ownership, relations with religious missions, and contact between the acculturated native peoples and the growing "civilized" communities. Exploitation by merchants or hucksters is common.

Roraima: Waimiri-Atroari, Waika, Mayongong, Xiriana, Wapitxaua, Taupitang. A substantial part of the indigenous population already lives in permanent contact with civilization, but there are isolated groups in resistance such as the Waimiri-Atroari. The Manaus-Caracará highway cut through their homelands, but they continue to reject the white man's presence, killing those who insist upon getting close to them.

Mato Grosso: Terena, Kadiwéu, Guató, Bororo, Xavante, Tapirape, Diore, Txucarramae, Juruna, Suya, Matipuhé, Kalapalo, Kamaiura, Waura, Iaualapiti, MEi naku, Kuikuro, Aweti, Txicao, Bakairi, Agavotokueng, Trumai, Tapayuna, Ipewi, Arikpatsa, Bova-negra, Beico de Pau, Irantxe, Cinta-Cinta-Larga, Paresi, Nhambikwara, Mamainde, Kreen-Akarore. This state, with its many native groups, has been hardest hit by the land-ownership problems, some of which have been resolved for the time being (Xavante), but most of which remain troublesome. The Xingu National Park was disrupted in the north by the Brasília-Manaus Highway. There are still some

isolated groups, but the majority have intermittent or permanent contact with "civilization". Some peoples have suffered drastic reductions in population in the last few years, such as the Kreen-Akarore, recently relocated to Xingu Park from their homelands on the route of the Cuiabá-Santarean Highway. Or the Nhambikwara, whose lands in the valley of Guapore have been illegally occupied by large cattle industries. The Xavante took up arms against the invasions of their lands, and managed to obtain the creation of five Xavante reserves, but there is still one Xavante group in the Kulene region whose lands are as yet occupied by squatters.

Amapa: Palikur, Karipuna, Galibi-Marworno, Galibi. Almost all speak Portuguese, and some even speak French "Patois" due to nearly permanent contact with Oiapoque, French Guiana. Although FUNAI has been studying the creation of a reserve for these peoples for years, there has been no action. Many native young people have exited to neighboring Guiana, where they find employment.



Para: Parukoto-Xaruma, Warikiana, Pianokoto-Tirio, Uru-Urukuyana, Aparai, Kaibi, Kurayam, Kubenkragnetire, Kuben-Kuben-Kran-Kegn, Gorotire, Xicrin, Surui, Gavião, Parakana, Assurini, Arara, Amanaye, Turiwara, Tembe, Karara, Kaiapo. These groups are in various stages of acculturation, ranging from the Parakana, who had their first problems with *civilizados* during the construction of the TransAmazonian Highway, to the Gavião and Surui groups, who have been in permanent contact with whites for a number of years and are on their way to extinction. Reserves were created in Para for several recently-contacted groups (Parakana, Assurini & Karara) but there is still no solution for the problems of the Kaiapo, Kuben-Kranotire, Kuben-Kran-Kegn or Gorotire. The FUNAI had intended to set up a large reserve in southern Para for the Kaiapo, but everything indicates that idea has now been abandoned. The groups living in the Xingu-Tocantins Region (Xicrin, Gavião & Surui) are having problems with the Brazilnut crop, which is exploited by FUNAI itself. Scouts are still trying to pacify still-isolated groups in Para, including one group of Parakana.

Maranhão: Guajá, Guajajara, Krikati, Canela, Kren & Ye. The invasions of indigenous lands have increased in the past few years. The resistance is now stronger, and there have been numerous conflicts, especially involving the Guajajara.

Pernambuco/Alagoas/Bahia: A total of 13 groups in these 3 states. The fundamental problem is land ownership, such as the case of the Pankararu of Pernambuco, where the Indian agencies have been in dispute with the ranchers since 1942. In Bahia, the Pataxo People are having problems with INCRA, which wants them removed from the Monte Pascoal National Park. INCRA claims the native people are destroying the flora and fauna of the park. FUNAI is trying to set up a reservation within the park.

Minas Gerais: The only native people left are the Maxacali, in the north, who live side by side with white society. In 1969, there were serious problems with the creation of "Rural Indigenous Guards" or Indian police. The use of native people as policemen caused such profound disruptions in their behavior that FUNAI is now deactivating the patrols little by little.

Espirito Santo: A tiny group of still surviving Tupiniquim was recently discovered. They have land problems, and FUNAI is now studying a program of "socio-economic development".

Goiás: Karaja, Xerente, Kraho, Apinaye. The Karaja, who live on the Island of Bananal, have entered an extremely critical situation caused by the Minister of Interior himself, who recently drew up a rush plan for "socio-economic development" of the area. The Karaja have been hurt by the disease and prostitution of their neighbors, and still don't know the fate of their lands. The Xerente Reserve has been on paper for five years now, but no way has been found to remove the hundreds of squatters living on the land.

Sao Paulo (Terena, Guarani, Kaingang), Parana (Kaingang, Guarani, Xokleng & Xeta), Santa Catarina (Guarani, Kaingang & Xokleng) and Rio Grande do Sul (Guarani & Kaingang). In these four southern states, the indigenous populations are not only plagued by land problems, but also are exploited as a labor force and marginalized. Indigenous areas everywhere have been invaded and reduced in size. The former reservation of 85,390 hectares in Rio Grande do Sul is now only 33,323 hectares. In Parana, vast forest reserves are being devastated within indigenous territories. Now mention has been made of an expansive program of "socio-economic development" with the support of the Ministry of the Interior, and FUNAI has taken court action to remove the squatters. But, despite the law, the problem of exploitation of the lands of Native Peoples is in full swing.

peltier

Fargo, North Dakota — The trial of Leonard Peltier may get underway here in March — one of the last remaining trials in the trail to and from Wounded Knee 1973.

Peltier, 32, was indicted for the murder of the two FBI agents slain at Oglala in 1975, but he was not arrested until January. He was taken into custody in Canada, and after a fight against extradition, he was returned to the U.S. in December.

Two co-defendants, Bob Robideau and Dino Butler, were acquitted of the same charges this July, when a jury could not find enough evidence for conviction. The jury indicated that even if there had been more evidence, likely it still would have acquitted “by reason of self defense” against the massive police repression which had been taking place on the Pine Ridge Reservation since 1973. Charges against a fourth defendant, Jimmy Eagle, were quietly dropped by the U.S.

Since a helicopter spirited him out of the Oakalla Prison and a military transport flew him back to Rapid City, attorneys Stanley Inglestein, Bruce Ellison, John Low, Ellis Takoff, and Terry Gilbert have been working out the details of his defense.

In pre-trial motions, the U.S. Government moved to have the jury locked up, citing “detrimental publicity” and filing all the material AKWESASNE NOTES has printed on the case as evidence. Actually, the U.S. is flattering, since NOTES has only 600 subscribers in North Dakota, but the move was deceptive, since FBI agents had been the ones who had tried to use the case to fool the public. At the time of the deaths of the agents, the FBI released phony information that their bodies were “riddled with bullets” in an “ambush” or a “gang-land style slaying”, and then conducting a military-type search-and-destroy manhunt on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

U.S. Judge Andrew Bogue of Rapid City took himself off the Peltier case at his arraignment, and a federal judge in Fargo, North Dakota, Paul Bentsen, has been assigned. Peltier had moved to have the trial held on the Pine Ridge Reservation in accordance with terms of the 1868 treaty.

“I raise the issue of jurisdiction,” Peltier says. “We Indian people are the only ones in America who, if accused of crimes against whites in our home communities, are forced into a venue change and thus tried on the issues of race rather than crimes. The racism is

exploited by the FBI, and is used to turn white against Indian.”

Birgil Kills Straight, a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, said that the people of Pine Ridge repeatedly requested to talk to his attorney. But the young Indian man, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents lost their lives in the Oglala community, Leonard Peltier was living in Oglala at the request of Oglala People. Therefore we feel responsible that his rights as a citizen of the Great Sioux Nation should not be violated,” Kills Straight said.

According to the 1868 Treaty, the chiefs and headmen must determine if a crime has been committed, and if the accused is to be turned over to the U.S. or tried by the Lakota Nation according to its own laws.

A petition is being circulated by Pi ne Ri dge residents demanding the “immediate removal and permanent absence” of FBI agents David Price, Vic Harvey, Gary Adams, Dean Howard Hughes, William Wood, and Mike Neville, who they feel are responsible for much of the continuing antagonism.

The Government also urged the court not to transfer Peltier’s case to Minnesota because “there is publicity being generated in the District of Minnesota critical of the conduct of the FBI which pblicity could endanger the plaintiff’s [U.S.] right to a fair trial in that district.” The Government introduced in support of their motion everything from an article in the *Minneapolis Star* to a leaflet of the Native American Solidarity Committee.

In fact, the U.S. was right that there was a growing sentiment in Minnesota that the FBI has not been acting within the law and has conducted a campaign of persecution against native peoples. A coalition of 27 Twin Cities organizations held a series of public hearings in February to probe the illegal practices of the FBI’s Minneapolis Regional Field Office. There were overflow crowds in the Hennepin County Government Center throughout the hearing.

Witnesses from the Rosebud, Pine Ridge, and Sisseton reservations told the Hearing Board of 25 persons of the virtual state of war in their communities. “People live day-to-day with words like FBI, raids, armored personnel carrier, M-16s, bail bonds — even grade-school kids know and understand the meaning of these words,” said Bill Means of Rosebud. “Everyone has a police radio in their home so they can hear what relation has been arrested, so they can know who to worry about.”

Dino Butler described his arrest by the FBI. Twenty to thirty agents carrying automatic weapons led a pre-dawn raid on his house using dogs, amphibious landing craft and helicopters. Butler said one agent told him in the Federal Building in Pierre, “Dino Butler, you’re nothing but a worthless scumbag and I promise you,

one day I’m going to kill you — I’m going to blow your head off.”

Norman Brown, a 16-year-old Navajo, described the tactics used by agents to induce him to testify against Butler and Robideau. When Brown was questioned about the Oglala shoot-out, he refused to answer any questions, and repeatedly requested to talk to his attorney. But the agents interrogated him in front of his mother, and told her that her son had killed the two FBI agents. For six hours, the agents badgered Brown and terrorized his mother. “They told Mom she’d never see me again, that I would never walk the earth again,” Brown said.

Roselyn Jumping Bull, from Oglala, said the interior of her home, in the compound near where the two agents died, was full of bullet holes and was unliveable because of the remaining odor of tear gas. She described how pictures of a nephew, cousin, and brother who died in World War I, World War II and Korea were deliberately mutilated in a petty retaliation for the agents’ deaths. They used the pictures as if they were human targets.

In March, 1975, an office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that “there is sufficient credibility in reports reaching this office to cast doubt on the propriety of actions by the FBI, and to raise questions about their impartiality and the focus of their concern.”

“They want to put Leonard on trial for an idea that he represents, not for any crimes that he has committed,” said AIM national chairman John Trudell.

Trudell asked the Hearing Board to demand the COINTELPRO files on Peltier and the American Indian Movement. “There are too many dead people who couldn’t be here to testify.”



On January 17, six carloads of FBI agents came to the house of Harry and Cecilia Jumping Bull on the Pine Ridge Reservation, to the home of Ivis and Angie Long Visitor, and to the Loneman School, all near Oglala, asking questions about the Long Visitors.

The next day, at 6:30 a.m., six FBI agents broke into the home of Angie Long Visitor’s sister and arrested Angie as a “material witness” for the upcoming bail reduction hearings for Leonard Peltier. She was taken before a U.S. magistrate, and although she has never been charged with a crime, never failed to appear when subpoenaed, bail was set at \$10,000 and she was put in custody. The FBI claimed this was necessary since she had “refused to testify” at the trial of Dino Butler and Bob Robideau. Actually, she had never been subpoenaed. She was, however, imprisoned for three months for refusing to testify before a grand jury, standing on her sovereign rights as a Lakota as her reason for the refusal.

dick marshall

Pine Ridge — Dick Marshall, an Oglala, remains in the South Dakota Penitentiary, facing a life sentence on charges of murder.

He was tried, convicted, and sentenced in a three-day trial in Rapid City, South Dakota, before an all-white jury in April, 1976.

Many people at Pine Ridge believe Marshall to be a victim of an effort to pin the death of Martin Montileaux on Russell Means of the American Indian Movement. Means was tried in a different trial, where expert attorneys spent most of a month in very careful jury selection. His trial ended in acquittal.

Marshall is seeking a new trial because of evidence which has surfaced since the trial, and because of changes in testimony of witnesses appearing at his trial and the trial of Means.

Two of the state’s witnesses against Marshall were Hallie and Twyla Merrell, who own the bar in Scenic, South Dakota, where Montileaux was shot in March,

1975. Besides the bar, the Merrells have a good income from ranching reservation land they lease. They are regarded as anti-AIM and anti-Indian.

Only one witness claimed to know Marshall shot Montileaux. That was Myrtle Poor Bear, who has since admitted that she lied in court.

It was Poor Bear who the FBI used to obtain an affidait to gain the extradition of Leonard Peltier from Canada. She also had changed her testimony in that case.

Poor Bear has admitted to working for the FBI on a stipend of about \$200 per month. She is known to suffer from a serious drinking problem, and has twice attempted suicide since August, 1976.

The state’s case was so poor that Marshall had been offered a chance to plead guilty to a lesser charge with a guarantee of a short sentence. He refused, saying he was innocent of all charges. The jury then came in for conviction.

Marshall has attempted to get a court to set bond so he can be free while his appeal is pending. Over 100 people from Pine Ridge and Rosebud came to show support for him at a September hearing. During the hearing, Prosecutor Jack Clauck called no witnesses of

his own, and presented no argument, just saying that the law doesn’t require a bond in a murder case. Judge Marshall Young declined to announce a decision in the courtroom full of Lakotas, and said he would announce it later. Judge Young and Prosecutor Clauck left the courthouse together, driving away in the judge’s car. Later, the judge returned to announce he had denied bond for Marshall.

Cleo Marshall describes her husband as a man whose heart is “real big for everyone.” He has been a leader of the state penitentiary Indian Cultural group, Native American Council of Tribes. The prison is full of Indian prisoners, some as young as 16, 17 and 18. Over one-third of the inmates are native men, a good indication of the dual system of justice for whites and native people in South Dakota.

Persons concerned with obtaining justice for Dick Marshall should write to:

South Dakota Supreme Court
Pierre, South Dakota

asking that the conviction of Dick Marshall either be overturned completely, or at least that he be granted a new trial.

[Thanks to Candy Hamilton and Liberation News Service for information.]

crow dog

Leonard Crow Dog Soon To Be Paroled

With growing international attention to the imprisonment of Lakota spiritual leader Leonard Crow Dog, the U.S. moved him to a minimum security

prison, Sandstone (Minnesota), this winter. No one wanted responsibility for considering his parole, and finally, it was sent up to the national board in Washington. A three-person panel considered the matter, and came out in favor 2-1 — but the full panel is five persons, and three votes are considered necessary. So, another member was polled, and from Atlanta, Georgia, came the answer — no way. That left the matter in the hands and heart of the last parole

board member, in Philadelphia, who fortunately felt that any further imprisonment of Crow Dog was a gross injustice, and voted in favor of the parole.

Officials estimate it will take about one month to process the parole, and Crow Dog is expected to be released sometime in March.

His case is still being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

john hill

John Hill Still In Prison

Dacajewiah, or John Hill, the only person still in prison

from the Attica survivors, is still in prison, even though New York Governor Hugh Carey commuted his sentence on New Year’s Day. Dacajewiah, 23, a Mohawk, was expected to be released almost immediately, but now he has two more years to serve as the result of an action taken by the parole board.

Carey had said he wanted to close the books on Attica, and said that Hill would have his sentence commuted to make him eligible for parole, and that no charges

would be pressed against guards or police who were involved in the bloody massacre which happened when the prison was re-taken after an inmate rebellion in 1971.

While Hill had all the requirements for parole, there were objections by police and guard organizations and right-wing groups, and the parole board caved in. Hill’s case cannot be heard by them again until two years have elapsed.

SKYHORSE / MOHAWK TRIAL

Ventura, California — Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk are continuing in their efforts to stand off a massive federal and local attempt to railroad them into the gas chamber for a 1974 slaying which appears to have been engineered to totally discredit the American Indian Movement in southern California.

For a time, their case was virtually unknown. Even today, few newspapers have even mentioned the case. Those who did know seemed unwilling to become involved because local journalism, parroting police reports, had pointed the gory evidence directly at the two men.

Gradually, however, three years later, with their trial yet to begin, Skyhorse and Mohawk have been able to mobilize wider public support. On February 11, 2500 persons demonstrated in California for their case, and for Sid Welch, a central California AIM coordinator who faces a second trial on frame-up "possession of explosives" charges, and for Leonard Peltier. The alternative press is beginning to pick up on the case.

The two men, who had been active in the organization of Chicago AIM, have been defending themselves, since they had been unable to convince earlier counsel of their innocence or of the possibilities of a CIA/FBI scenario in the case. Douglass Durham, the now-well-known CIA/FBI/LEIU agent who infiltrated AIM, is deeply involved in the case, as was another admitted agent, one Virginia Deluce, also known as "Blue Dove".

Skyhorse and Mohawk are not trained in the law, and have operated under severely-trying conditions from within the Ventura County jails. For months, they were heavily drugged. Their access to telephones has been limited. Prospective witnesses have been hidden, harassed, and have turned up missing. Most of their efforts have been devoted to a complicated pre-trial evidence motion, which has set a world's record in length of time for such hearings.

But on January 11, Judge Marvin Lewis ruled against them in all parts of the complex motion. Lewis said that "if the police want to get evidence illegally, they will do it anyway, and people just get mad at the courts for letting criminals go on technicalities." Lewis said, however, he had to obey the law because he was a judge, and so it had given him quite a bit of trouble figuring out how to bring his denial of the motion within the law. So, he made his ruling, and then announced he was withdrawing from the case, remarking, "Other judges think my talents can be better used elsewhere."

Skyhorse and Mohawk were then assigned for trial to Judge Robert Shaw. The men had already appeared before him in a preliminary hearing in 1975, at which time Shaw lost his cool and shouted at them in court, "I have seen the evidence and you are guilty!" After Shaw regained his composure, he disqualified himself from the preliminary hearing, saying, "I have formed an opinion of your guilt, and can't give you a fair trial." (The local press reported this example of injudicious behavior as "Judge Says 'Indians Guilty'")

But now Shaw is back in the case for the trial, incredible as this may seem.

Overnight, Skyhorse and Mohawk drew up a motion to disqualify all the Ventura County Superior Court judges on grounds of bias and prejudice against themselves as minority people, and on grounds of financial and political interest in a fast cheap railroad to conviction. The motion pointed out that local judges had participated in the Ventura County Bar Association's racist skit, "People vs. Tonto," where 500 lawyers and judges got together over dinner to mock the defense efforts and to laugh at the Indians who were being maneuvered into the gas chamber.

The defendants were able to get four of the eight Ventura judges disqualified through the motion, and prosecutor Peter Kossoris filed an agreement to disqualification of two more. The California Supreme Court has assigned an outside judge to hear the contested issue of disqualification on the remaining judges. These efforts have won enthusiastic support from the large local Chicano community, whose members have suffered a great deal from the bias of the same judges.

While the two men defend themselves out of desperation, rather than choice, they have plowed fresh legal ground with creative tactics learned simply by taking the law seriously at face value. Now, other inmates in the Ventura County jail, whose alternative was the feeble defense of public defenders, have begun to follow the Skyhorse-Mohawk example.

During the seven-month evidence-suppression hearings, Skyhorse and Mohawk were accused of "stalling". Basically, they used the testimony of police witnesses they called to the stand to uncover a great deal of evidence useful to the defense which had been illegally concealed.

In the hearings, it was discovered that the prosecution has "lost" not just one, but two murder weapons. The case involves the brutal murder of George Aird, a

cab-driver, who was taken to the camp that Doug Durham had made well-known as an "AIM Camp". One of the "lost" weapons is the knife which was seized from Holly Broussard, who was arrested in her bloodied clothing at the crime scene. Sheriff's officers noted that Broussard's knife had a "substance which appeared to be blood on it." She is not being prosecuted, however.

Marvin Red Shirt, with whom Holly is now living, was also arrested at the scene with clothing and boots extensively blood-stained — but again, he is not being prosecuted either. He usually wore a knife, as witnessed in a group photo furnished by the FBI. Another knife was found at the crime scene, in an outdoor oven, under some papers belonging to the victim, which had Red Shirt's bloody fingerprints on them. This knife was sent to the Ventura Crime Lab by the sheriff to be tested for blood and fingerprints. But, by some "error", the note attached to the knife read instead "Destroy this knife" and that the crime lab did — in August, 1975, just after Red Shirt had been released and given immunity in exchange for his testimony that Skyhorse and Mohawk had murdered the driver of the cab that he and his companions Broussard and Marcella Eaglestaff had hijacked.

Marvin W. Red Shirt

Holly Broussard

Marcella McNoise
Eaglestaff



There is recent news of Red Shirt — he reportedly has been visiting various Los Angeles Indian Centers, telling staff members he is "AIM Director for Los Angeles", demanding money, or threatening that "AIM is going to shut your center down because you're ripping off the people." Such tactics cause ill-feeling toward AIM, and are the type of actions common among professional disrupters. He has not been prosecuted for an assault he committed on Sabu Roman Nose of the Native American Involvement Center's staff, following a day during which he prowled outside the center with a gun, terrorizing the people there.



He was arrested following a drunken-driving accident followed by a police chase last October. Prosecutor Kossoris told Los Angeles authorities he thought Red Shirt should be locked up for his "own safety".

The evidence hearings turned up other materials which begin to suggest the extent of the coverup. In Broussard's VW, which they were driving before they called the cab, police photographs show coils of rope. A lot of knives and axes were also found in the car. But the car and contents were returned to Holly's father, a retired U.S. Navy Commander, immediately after the slaying. No one will ever know if rope from those same coils was wound around the victim's neck.

From what was learned, the defense now believes the most probable theory of the crime is that it was an unplanned slaying, committed by three persons who got drunk and decided to hijack the cab they had called because they had no money. Then, the government, which had the camp infiltrated and under surveillance, moved in to use the incident to discredit AIM and frame two AIM leaders. In fact, the government had been using the camp in this way for some time by having undercover agents show off the camp as a bastion of armed revolution when in fact, the

connection with AIM was marginal, and the only such activity was being conducted by the agents themselves.

According to testimony of former Ventura County Deputy Michael DeGray, he and his partner Loveday were cruising when they received a radio dispatch to join many other officers — including some FBI men, apparently — at a restaurant rendezvous. They were told that "big trouble" of some kind was expected later at the AIM camp.

DeGray and his partner are firm in their testimony that the dispatches came about 10:15 p.m., just about the time witnesses saw Red Shirt, Broussard, and Eaglestaff get into the cab they had called to the Hollywood Hills residence of TV actor David Carradine, where they had been partying. It takes 45 minutes to go from Carradine's to the AIM Camp, travelling fast and by the most direct route. Since witnesses report that the cab — still being driven by the victim, "looking scared" — was moving slowly and swerving around in the road as if the driver was trying to call attention to the hijack, police seem to have known about the murder — or something — at least an hour before the cab could possibly have arrived at the camp.

One unanswered question: is there a connection here with FBI provocateur Durham's attempts to get Sky-

horse and Mohawk to go up to Carradine's house just before the murder? Is there a connection with Doug Durham's attempts, just before the murder, to get other AIM members involved with the camp, telling them there were "big plans" to expose the racism of the Ventura sheriff? Is there a connection with all the intelligence activity in the area? Is there a connection with various "stage props" left on the murder scene to make sure the "savage Indian" and AIM image was reinforced? Is there a connection with Doug Durham's recent U.S. Senate testimony that "Camp 13" was an AIM guerrilla terrorist training ground, where the "AIM revolutionary communist terrorists" murdered a Los Angeles cab driver in 1974?

Durham also appeared at Skyhorse's "sanity trial", posing as a "clinical psychologist". That hearing had been insisted upon by public defender Kenneth Cleaver, who says he regarded Skyhorse as insane "because he could not relate any facts concerning the offense". NOTES readers may recall in the last issue the astonishing letter from Cleaver, whose work as a "public defender" is to use the law to aid poor and indigent defendants but who was threatening to sue AKWESASNE NOTES! After Cleaver lost in his attempt to get Skyhorse committed to a mental hospital ("I thought the jury was wrong," he says) he then moved to be excused from the case, and negotiated Red Shirt's immunity agreement which released him from being prosecuted for the murder — in exchange for his evidence against Skyhorse and Mohawk!

During this period, both Skyhorse and Mohawk were kept heavily drugged by sheriff's officers. And how does it happen that Cleaver hooked up with Doug Durham, who gave perjured testimony? Cleaver's letter mentions that "a woman purporting to be Durant's mother from Chicago" had called the public defender's office relating the "availability of psychiatric reports from a hospital there". And yet the public defender had it on record that Skyhorse's mother was a long-time California resident. They and the prosecution interviewed her, and she was called as a defense witness by Cleaver at Skyhorse's sanity trial. So who was this "Chicago woman"? Another FBI agent?

If Ventura County is any example of justice in America, the system is in trouble. The legal community saw absolutely nothing wrong in laughing at the efforts of two Indian men to defend themselves. They enjoyed a racist skit, written by the attorney for Holly Broussard, who also was given an immunity from prosecution in exchange for testimony.

Other trial-related expressions of community racism have included posting in the City Hall, next to the Courthouse, a large and highly-visible sign which read, "ABSOLUTELY NO INDIANS ALLOWED IN THIS AREA". City officials have explained the sign as a "private joke".

Although the U.S. Census reports only 1,000 native Americans in the entire county, the city of Ventura alone claims more than 1,000 Indian students for Title IV and other federal Indian education funds. The

Ventura County Board statistics claim the county is "96% white" — but these figures exclude a large number of Chicano people who live in the county, but are regarded as "migrant labor" to tend the oranges, lemons and celery which are the country's main source of legitimate income. A second major source of commerce comes from the three large military bases in the area. And the county's main illegal source of income is the drug traffic — Ventura is the main port of entry for large syndicate-backed shipments coming in by boat and plane.

Racial incidents are common in the local schools, with Chicano and Indian students getting the blame. Last October, three Anglo men entered the Oxnard High yard and started a fight with some Chicano students to whom they had thrown racist remarks. School administrators responded by starting "Operation Identification", a junior version of the grown-up experimental spying that the government funds in this county. After a while, school officials announced that junior informers had identified the "troublemakers" — Chicanos — were then expelled from school. At a parents' meeting about school racial incidents, members of some Chicano families identified as leaders of the attempt to organize parents were attacked by police. And in February, indictments were issued by a Ventura Grand Jury against several of these parents, who were charged with "inciting riot". The white men who started it all with their attack were not charged.

So goes it in Ventura.

But it would be wrong to dismiss Ventura as "just another community". Under the Nixon Administration, Ventura was designated to be a national "pilot study area" to explore new methods and tactics in criminal justice and law enforcement. According to Gary Erickson of the County Criminal Justice Planning Board, Ventura was chosen "because we already had such good cooperation between the different law enforcement agencies." That must mean cooperation against political activists and petty criminals, but despite the presence of Naval Intelligence and a large FBI office, the Ventura County Sheriff's office can't seem to do anything about the big drug market which flourishes there.

Beginning in 1969, U.S. Government funds were channeled through "Law Enforcement Assistance Agency" [LEAA] grants into Ventura for special equipment and training programs. But probably more important than the superbugs and other gadgets was the administrative restructuring which created a sort of super-police agency. The county spends \$23-million annually on "criminal justice". For most places, the biggest tax item is schools — in Ventura, it's "the law". The District Attorney's office spends about \$2.5-million a year on prosecutions, and it also spends \$1.1-million on something called a "Family Assistance program" which employs 78 ex-cops to do "welfare investigations".

Under the heading of "modernizing" the system comes a program for "improving relations" between police and the courts. A program to train the police to be "better witnesses" is being run by a mysterious "Anthropological Research Inc." with government funding. This corporation consults with the Ventura judges, over luncheon meetings, about how police witnesses can make a better impression on juries, how they can say the right things, and to avoid the need to rule favorably for the defense. The judges also get together with the district attorney's office — forget what you learned about the "separation of powers" in your civics classes — to work together on another Nixon innovation which has a sure future: the "Career Criminal Prosecution Program". This gem was thought up by former U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell and some of his crew, now with Watergate, sort of career criminals themselves. In the "Career Criminal" program, certain people are "picked" — it is not clear by whom — for special processing. The general idea is to speed them through conviction before they can engage



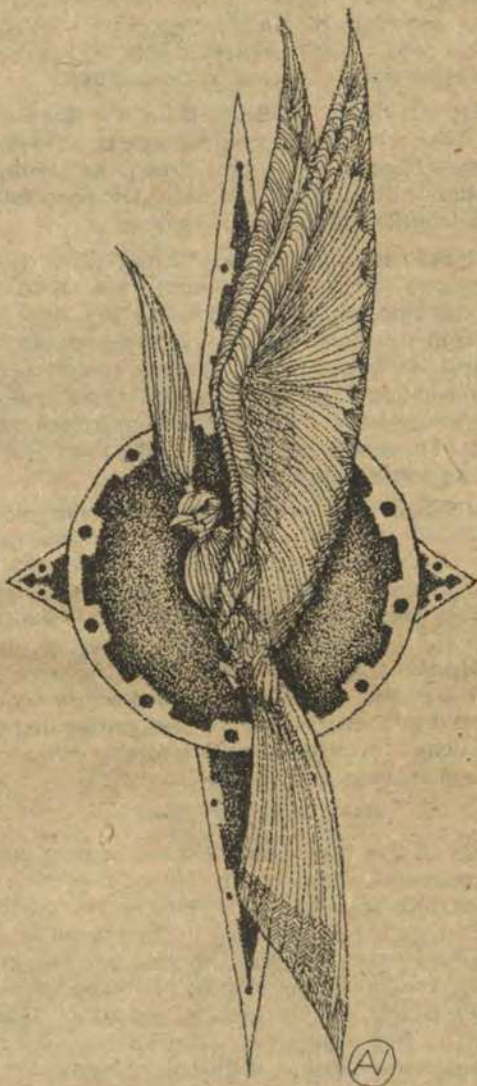
in legal defenses which might win acquittal, reduced charges, or other exercises of legal rights. Career Criminals seem to be unable to get even the token help which is all the public defenders generally provide.

According to former employees of the public defender's office, there is a policy of not declaring conflict of interest in cases where they represent several people charged with the same crime. Instead, they consult with prosecution to decide who the "really bad guys" are, and then push the lesser ones into plea deals where they help the prosecution convict their co-defendants.

"I think we are part of their experiment," Skyhorse says. "But they picked the wrong Indians."

Another aspect of Ventura's criminal "justice system" is a large and shadowy "private" police organization called Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit [LEIU] which is a sort of private club, for members only. The members just happen to be police intelligence units from all over the country — LEIU is big in California and Arizona, for instance. This private club, headquartered in Sacramento, just happens to be funded by LEAA, the money arm of the U.S. Justice Department which is also the parent agency of the FBI.

When Doug Durham was exposed as an FBI OPERATIVE ON March 13, 1975, he stated publicly that he was also employed as an operative for LEIU, having been recruited in 1969 as "an experiment". He told AIM's investigators quite a bit about LEIU, which, he said, put police in contact with military intelligence and military equipment for special operations. He himself had access to small aircraft maintained by the Iowa Air National Guard and jet planes from the Strategic Air Command base nearby in Nebraska. He said in 1975, "You're going to be hearing a lot more from LEIU," but apparently nobody was paying much attention.



LEIU is very big in Ventura County. Not only do local police, sheriffs, and military intelligence cooperate through it, but the Ventura County District Attorney is also a member. National LEIU headquarters have a "locator file" where they record where, all over the country, police intelligence can find other records about "interesting" persons. It would seem that despite all this apparatus, LEIU has very little success in dealing with organized crime, and seems to have as its primary targets political activists and leaders of all sorts of movements for social change.

Also located in Ventura County, in the town of Thousand Oaks, is what appears to be a main data bank for LEIU. This masquerades as "National Legal Data Center, Inc.". Security precautions there resemble those of high-security military projects, and the guards are more military than cop-like.

LEIU's main feature is that as a "private agency", it is immune even from those small ineffective controls that have been enacted by federal and state governments in the wake of Watergate. Its records cannot be obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, for instance.

Durham — and information about LEIU — are likely to surface in the trial. Defense has received a memo from the district attorney saying they recently contacted Durham through the Des Moines FBI. He was interviewed by phone. Durham apparently told them he didn't know anything about anything. He said he never attended any defense strategy meetings, although it is known he was instrumental in scaring off ACLU attorneys from the case by telling them "AIM wants you to get off this case".

AIM National Executive Director Dennis Banks has said he has information that Durham is deeply involved. "Those brothers are innocent, I know this for a fact," Banks said in Ventura recently. "I was in Phoenix with Doug at the time (where Skyhorse and Mohawk were arrested a week after the murder, during a National Indian Education Association convention. I put him in charge of investigating it and told him to keep me informed on an hourly basis, in 1974." Banks pointed out that the prosecution's refusal to charge Durham with perjury for his 1974 testimony "is in line with government actions everywhere."

Before bowing out, Judge Lewis denied entry to the case of two politically-experienced lawyers, saying this would "create a chamber of horrors".



And so it would. It is horrible to think that a government informer and his wealthy girl friend can be arrested on the spot of a brutal crime, covered with the victim's blood, be linked to the slaying by strong physical and eyewitness evidence, and go free with government jobs and college scholarships. It is equally as horrible to think that their testimony will be used in an attempt to convict persons whose sole crime seems to be an active membership in the American Indian Movement.

On the same day as Judge Lewis bowed out, the Skyhorse-Mohawk Judicial Liberation Committee house in Los Angeles was raided by a SWAT-type team, including six squad cars and a police helicopter, an event which received the usual lack of notice from anyone but the victims. The committee is presently homeless. Contributions, correspondence, and orders for a 32-page information booklet (\$2.50) or poster (\$1) should be addressed to

Skyhorse-Mohawk Legal Defense
POBox 1875
Ventura, California 93001

Trial information number continues to be (805) 648-7019, with (805) 487-4107 for the answering service. Contributions and support are still desperately needed. When the trial will happen is a question which still cannot be answered. The defense has indicated that they have hopes that an honest, non-Ventura judge, hearing the case outside the county, would dismiss the case before trial. However, this is, at this time, only a hope, and thus strengthening their preparation for the trial continues with a need for politically-aware and professionally-competent legal help.

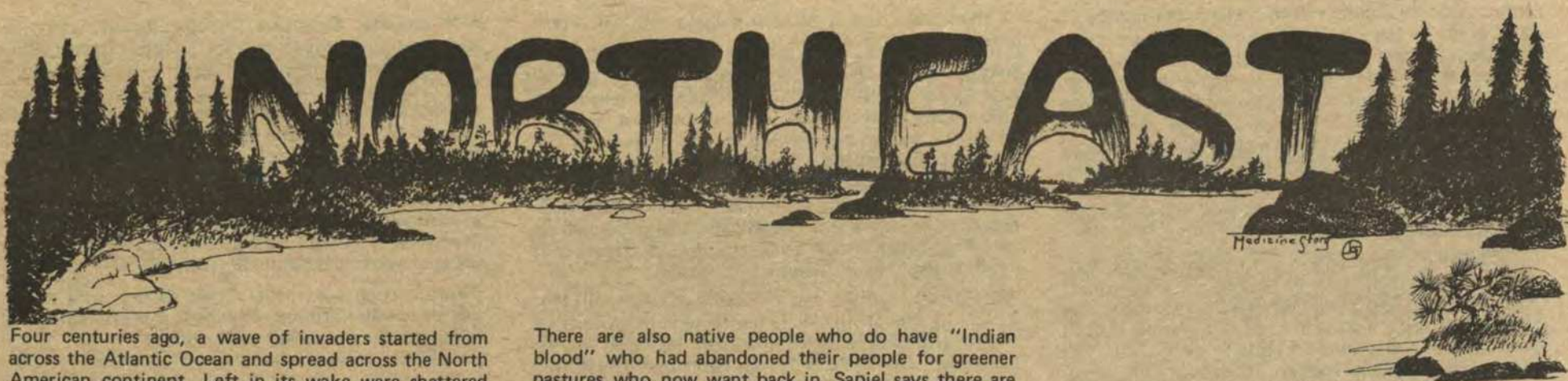
Those who think the possibility of CIA/FBI involvement in the case is far-fetched may do well to ponder the recent confirmation of the revelation that the CIA forced the killing of 500,000 pigs in Cuba in 1971. The pigs had become afflicted with swine fever virus — and anyone at that time who might have said "CIA plot" would have been accused of total paranoia.

It all happened two years after Richard Nixon announced amid great publicity that the U.S. was renouncing the use of biological and chemical warfare. But a counter-revolutionary Cuban exile disgruntled by the U.S. investigation of terrorist activities carried out by his group in Florida has spilled the story of how at Fort Gulick, an army base in the Panama Canal Zone where the CIA operates a paramilitary training center for career personnel and mercenaries, he was given a sealed container filled with African swine fever virus, a highly contagious organism.

The container was transported to Cuban territory near the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay near the end of March, 1971, and six weeks later, the Western Hemisphere had the first outbreak of African swine fever in its history.

The virus, which can be transmitted rapidly through water or food supply, could have easily gone undetected for months. As it was, a half-million pigs had to be slaughtered to prevent the spread of the epidemic. The outbreak was labeled "the most alarming event" of 1971 by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization.

[Thanks to Intercontinental Press for this information.]



Four centuries ago, a wave of invaders started from across the Atlantic Ocean and spread across the North American continent. Left in its wake were shattered nations of People. Some nations no longer exist, victims of genocide.

In the last decade, however, another wave began to spread across the land, this time from Alcatraz Island eastward, as nation after nation began a renewed effort to piece themselves back together, armed with the Truth about their history. That wave was a part of a larger groundswell of nations all over the world throwing off the chains of colonialism and regaining their place under the Sun once again.

The nations who were hit first in the establishment of "New England" in the "New World" were hit hardest. One after another were reduced to pitiful handfuls of refugees as war, disease, starvation and oppression took their toll. But here and there, in isolated pockets, little groups of survivors kept the knowledge of who they were, even if all else — language, land, religion, customs, government — were taken from them.

Now, after a decade of effort, the existence and rights of these Peoples, forgotten Original Americans, are beginning to be recognized.

In Maine, the United States Interior and Justice Department have been ordered by a U.S. Court to honor a federal obligation to protect legitimate claims of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot People, who are, under law, the rightful owners of as much as 12.5-million acres of land. Smaller claims in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia by other nations seem to have excellent chances of success.

All of this has brought a sudden notoriety to native people along the Atlantic. Previously, only the native people themselves, and their immediate neighbors, were even aware there were any native people at all left in the East. Actually, of the one million or so people identified as "American Indians" in the United States, about one-quarter live east of the Mississippi River. Only about 2% of all Indian land is in the East, however. If the ten to twelve million acres which rightfully belong to native nations in the East were returned to them, though, they would then have a more equitable proportion of land, about 20% of the total of native-held lands in the country.

The number of people who identified themselves as "American Indian" in the 1970 census in the New England states was about 12,000 — 4500 in Massachusetts, 2300 in Maine, 2200 in Connecticut, 1400 in Rhode Island, 360 in New Hampshire and 230 in Vermont. Those figures include native people relocated to the cities from other areas, and other non-tribal peoples.

At the present time, there are four small reservations in Connecticut, three in Maine, one in Massachusetts, and a few small holdings of deeded land owned individually by native peoples.

At first, the state and federal governments, the news media, and the non-native public took the land claims as a joke. Newspaper stories had a tone of "Have you heard the latest about what the Indians are up to? Get this!"

But grins turned to frowns this autumn when municipal bonds in areas under claim were cancelled, placing construction of schools, hospitals, water-treatment plants, home mortgages, and real estate sales in jeopardy. Although attorneys for the native People have repeatedly stated that their clients do not want to deprive any individuals of their homes or livelihood, and are only interested in preserving undeveloped land for their unborn generations, the finance and real estate interests and the news media have continued to scream scare tactics, telling non-Indian people they will lose everything if the courts find in favor of the native People.

Another reaction, equally as galling, is that many persons are showing up to claim that they are long-lost brothers and sisters entitled to share in the claims. Nicholas Sapiel, tribal governor of Indian Island Penobscot nationlands in Maine, says, "We're being swamped with applicants. They're coming out of the woodwork and are really fighting to get in. I'm getting the feeling that everyone in America suddenly remembered that their grandfather or grandmother was a pure-blooded Penobscot."

There are also native people who do have "Indian blood" who had abandoned their people for greener pastures who now want back in. Sapiel says there are those who used to look the other way when he passed by who are now seeking him out. "Now that they know land and money are on the horizon, they want to turn back to the old Indian again." Sapiel says they are throwing out most of the inquiries they receive. "Most are phony claims," he says, from people who "just want to get in on our action, ride our gravy train, and grab what they can. There's no way we're going to let them in."

Hazel Oakley, who heads the membership screening board for the Mashpee Wampanoags, who also have a substantial land claim in Massachusetts, also says that her People are not looking for "come-latelys."

According to Harry A. Rainbolt of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, his agency is deluged with letters from all over asking about membership in the Eastern tribes. "Even the State Department has received inquiries from overseas," he says.

Some of the new interest is, of course, legitimate, as many persons moved away from the reservations in order to provide for their families, and who now have good reason to return. But most of these people have maintained contact with their relatives, and are known to many families. What most outsiders do not realize is that the members of the nations all know each other, or at least know their grandparents, who lived together in small tight-knit communities.

"I admit that quite a few applicants are looking at the possibility of getting a windfall," says Mashpee's Wampanoag Council president Russell Peters, "but it really doesn't matter. Whatever their motivation, we're glad to see people identify themselves as Indian and stand up and be counted. Many of our People, those who could do it, hid behind someone else's race. All over this country, Indians who looked white enough disavowed their Indian blood," he says, noting that this new publicity has created more favorable climate to break down the stigma of "Indian blood".

The Bicentennial Blues

The result of this new atmosphere was evident during the Bicentennial Year, when citizen's committees found a strange unwillingness of their native neighbors to dress up for token leadership in the Fourth of July parade. Those native speakers who did speak out did so forcefully, reminding the citizens of "New England" that their people, at the specific request of George Washington, had sent many warriors to aid the colonists in the revolution, at the cost of many lives.

This they did at the assurance that the new nation would protect them, as the colonial governments had failed to do, from the avarice, depredations, and exploitation of the European invaders. But after the war, it was business-as-usual, and little by little, ancestral homelands were relinquished and the islands of native nations kept shrinking.

At the National Day of Mourning commemorated at Plymouth Rock on Thanksgiving Day as it has been since 1970, William Wilcox, known as Big Toe of the Narragansetts, spoke of the Pilgrims who sold Indians as slaves in England for two shillings each. He told the straight-laced descendants of those who rode the Mayflower that Pilgrims robbed graves and stole food and corn.

Bob Gustafson, a native man living in New Hampshire, said the earth had supported native peoples for tens of thousands of years, but "we are dealing now with a society that on the basis of 400 years of history seems determined to do itself in."

Wamsutta, or Frank James, a Wampanoag, asked the mourners at Plymouth Rock to spend three minutes in silence for the 300th anniversary of the death of Metacombet, known to the English as "King Philip", the Wampanoag sachem who made a too-late effort to drive the invaders from the lands of his people.

How Many Wheelbarrows of Money?

For several years, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot People had tried to get their land claims heard, but the U.S. Government refused to listen. So the first legal step was to get a court order to force the U.S. Departments of Interior and Justice to prosecute the claims. After a hard-fought battle, the court ordered the government lawyers to get busy.

While the U.S. attorneys have been preparing the claim, they are also hopeful Congress will take them off the hook by settling the dispute with legislation. The new Carter Administration has been asked to follow their suggestion.

Maine Governor James B. Longley, who heretofore has refused to consider an out-of-court settlement, panicked when the courts started to rule in favor of the native interests. He then promptly sent a wire to the Native American Rights Fund attorney, Tom Tureen, urging cooperation for a settlement that would not disturb the homes or jobs of Maine citizens living in the disputed area.

The governor asked Tureen to make a public pledge that his native clients would accept a money settlement and would discontinue their claims to the land itself, a strange request, since the native people had repeatedly stated they had no wish to drive homeowners out, and have continually stated their willingness to negotiate a settlement. The governor's plea concealed the fact that the occupied lands are only a tiny portion of the total claim — the real stakes are the vast untenanted and uninhabited areas now being held in reserve by corporate paper companies and other interests. These are the ancestral lands the native People wish to secure for their children, for the future of the Wabanaki Nation.

"We are not interested in taking over homes and communities," Tureen said. He indicated the claim extends to all of northern and eastern Maine, or about 60% of the land area of the state, including the entire watershed of the Penobscot River, Baxter State Park, and Mt. Katahdin, which is sacred to the Wabanaki People.

Maine State Attorney General Joseph E. Brennan says he considers this case "without merit — but we're taking it very seriously because of the economic impact." Under the circumstances, there is little else a good lawyer could say — even though a recent Interior Department finding has made the merits of the case better than ever.

The "economic impact" Brennan referred to began when Ropes and Gray, a Boston bond counseling firm, issued an opinion which said they were unable to guarantee Maine municipal bonds in the native claim area. Since Indian land cannot be taxed, the firm said, there was a doubt as to the future ability of the municipalities to pay on the bonds. As a result, \$32.4-million in bonds were cancelled, and schools and sewage plants were cancelled with them.

Maine's cities and towns, in the poorest state in the East, are now limping along making short-term expensive loans until the financial crisis is solved or the lawsuit settled.

Rodney T. Scribner, Maine's state treasurer, says he thinks the cancellation of the bonds and other problems stemming from the native claim will have a five to ten year "ripple effect" on the stability of Maine finances.

So finally, the people of Maine are taking native people and their rights seriously. Michael Lachance, the town manager of Millinocket, sadly admitted that his city "had treated the 1972 filing of the \$300-million suit with too much levity, not giving enough consideration to it."

To the non-Indians who had ignored the 2300 native people Maine claimed as its own, living in poverty on tiny reservations all these years, the idea of them claiming two-thirds of the state seemed ludicrous.

"They used to laugh about this case," says Nicholas Sapiel. "Now they're getting a few grey hairs."

Attorney Tureen said the native leadership had given "fair warning" that their case would have serious side-effects, and "from the beginning they offered to settle out-of-court. But then that offer was taken [by the state] as a sign of weakness, and was ignored." According to Tureen, however, the offer for an out-of-court settlement "still stands." But, he warns, if there is no settlement, his clients will be "forced to proceed with the lawsuit and will press for all they are entitled to."





Following historic custom invoked whenever native people successfully assert their legal rights, Attorney General Brennan asked the U.S. Congress to change the law so that no court could restore the claimed land. He received support from the U.S. Justice Department, which filed a memorandum January 14 in U.S. District Court in Portland, saying that "only a Congressional resolution of the Indian tribal claims can correct the injustice to the tribes in question without committing new hardships on other citizens of the State of Maine."

The Justice Department also raised another objection, which it said was "even more compelling." The memo said that "litigation cannot ultimately resolve the claim in question." The proper means of settlement, the Justice officials claim, is not in the courts because "the ultimate resolution of aboriginal title raises political, not justiciable issues."

The Maine Advisory Committee on Civil Rights has written Attorney General Brennan urging the state to negotiate, since prolongation of the case "could have dire results for the citizens of Maine."

But Brennan continues to think the whole idea is "preposterous", believing "you don't just undo 200 years of history that readily."

But what are the 200 years of history in the relations of the State of Maine with the native people of the land that the Attorney General does not wish to undo?

John Stevens, former governor of the Passamaquoddy Reservation at Peter Dana Point and a former Maine Commissioner of Indian Affairs, remembers that his people fought for the colonists against England, and it was due to that aid that Maine is now a part of the U.S., rather than Canada. In 1784, George Washington sent the Passamaquoddy People a letter of thanks, but failed to live up to his promises to them.

In 1790, the U.S. Congress passed the "Non-Intercourse Act", which essentially made the Royal Proclamation of 1763 a part of U.S. law by prohibiting any sale or lease of Indian lands without the approval of the U.S. Government. As George Washington explained to the Senecas at that time, "Here, then, is the security for the remainder of your lands. No state or person can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States."

Or, in the words of the Act itself, "Any title to Indian land obtained without federal approval is null and void." The Act was renewed in 1793, 1796, 1799, 1802, and made final in 1834.

A treaty signed in 1794 between Massachusetts (whose territory then included what is now Maine) and the local native peoples took much of the aboriginal lands in exchange for a guarantee that certain lands be owned and maintained for the native nations.

But the state kept nibbling away at even those lands, again in 1796 and in 1818. Then when Maine was carved out of Massachusetts in 1820, the responsibilities for keeping the treaty promises fell to the new state.

Maine proved no better a protector of native land rights than Massachusetts. In 1833, it concluded a land deal without federal authority. Over the years, most of the native land base has been sold, leased, or flooded by the state, and now there remain only three small reservations — the Penobscot's Indian Island at Old Town, the Passamaquoddy's Pleasant Point and Peter Dana Point.

While this was going on, native people were kept out of state affairs. Maine did not allow Original Americans to vote until 1967, and they were not able to represent themselves in the Legislature until 1975.

The Original People of Maine are now the poorest people in the poorest state of New England. Half of the families have unemployed members, and half are employed only seasonally for wretched pay in the potato fields or at blueberry picking. Despite an active tribal construction program, houses are substandard and in need of repair. State medical reports show high infant mortality, lower life expectancy, and numerous infectious diseases due to impoverished physical and sanitary conditions in the native population.

In this condition, native people have been able to do little more than watch helplessly as lands were sold and leased and promises were short-lived. Their resources went to fill other pockets with the exchange being meager government handouts.

"They tell me Indians are lazy," John Stevens says. "My God, I've been working since I was seven — picking blueberries or potatoes is about the only kind of employment available to my people. We are the last on the totem pole of opportunity."

For eighteen years, Stevens looked for a lawyer willing to take the case. One attorney got interested but he was wiped out of the picture when a flimsy legal action was brought against him by outside interests.

Then in 1967, Tom Tureen got involved. During the summer of 1964 he had directed a recreation program for off-reservation Lakotas in Pierre, South Dakota. That changed the course of his life to Indian law. For years, he studied and prepared and did his homework in the legal background.

In 1972, on George Washington's birthday, the native people of Maine went to court. "It was like, 'Hey, remember us? We're your old war buddies!'" says Tureen.

The Solicitor of the Department of Interior ignored the request for a suit on the ground there was no U.S. treaty, and therefore, there was no trust relationship. That gave Tureen the opportunity to invoke the 1970 Non-Intercourse Act right at the start, and he brought the case through the labyrinth of the federal court system, winning District Court, Appeals Court, and Supreme Court Decisions.

Now, Tureen has the backing of the Native American Rights Fund. He feels that the case is relatively easy from this point, because the primary legal issues have been settled, and now just the "factual propositions" need to be proved in court.

The first of the two critical legal points Tureen won revolved around the Non-Intercourse Act and whether it applied to New England's "state Indians". U.S. District Court Judge Edward Gignoux of Portland said that the act just says "Indians" — it doesn't distinguish or intend to distinguish between "treaty" and "non-treaty" native people. This decision held up on appeal, and the U.S. was directed to "investigate and take such action as may be warranted under the circumstances" on the claims.

The second point which has been won has to do with assertions like that of Maine's attorney general that "you can't change 200 years of history." This defense was struck down in the course of the Narragansett Nation's 1974 suit seeking the return of their lands in Rhode Island. In June, 1976, Federal Judge Raymond Pettine agreed with the Narragansett's attorney, Bary Margolin of NARF, terming such defenses "utterly futile". Another recent decision in favor of Connecticut's Schaghticoke People reaffirms the principle.

What's Good For the Goose

When 30 Wabanakis established a traditional encampment on their sacred Mt. Katahdin a year ago, Maine Governor Longley tried to evict them, saying sternly, "This is going to be a state operated under the laws of the State of Maine." Now, however, Longley is trying to get around the law. He met last Autumn with Senators Edmund Muskie and William Hathaway and Representatives William Cohen and David Emery to discuss federal legislation which would thwart the native claims.

This type of double standard was the cause of John Stevens' quitting as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Just before that resignation, he said he was "frustrated in working for the state because of the attitudes and the injustices they want me to impose on my own people. The Maine Constitution mentions Indians and upholding their treaty rights. Then I get instructions not to do so."

Tureen says that actions such as Longley's are a "terrible commentary on our legal and political system." He said such actions illustrate "the attitude that we all live by the law until it provides too much to minorities." Tureen adds, "I don't see how the country in good faith could expect people to abide by rules of law if the response to a group who have slugged their way through the courts for five years and have won is to turn around and change the rules. How could we ever expect people to abide by law again?"

To Governor Longley's assertion that "we must not allow any suit by any group or individual to bring government to its knees," Tureen responds that the problem is not caused by native people, but by the state's policy of deficit spending, using land as collateral for borrowing money. If the collateral would be taken away by native claims, the whole thing falls apart.

The native people know the state of Maine cannot possibly come up with a reasonable financial settlement. The \$300-million in damages asked in the suit is just a little under that of the entire bonded indebtedness of Maine, and is, Tureen says, "only the tip of the iceberg". Ultimately, Tureen believes, Maine will have to return the undeveloped lands to the native people — and that, he says, would be beneficial to all of Maine's people.

According to a position paper of the Sam Ely Community Service Corporation of August, an organization "dedicated to the sound use of all natural resources," one of the main reasons why poverty is so extreme in Maine is because "Maine is a colony. Over 80% of its land resources are owned by out-of-state companies or individuals. Seven companies alone control 40% of the land, with the largest, International Paper, making an annual profit equal to six times the total revenue of the Maine State Government."

Nor does this colonization create jobs for Maine people — most of the corporations export the timber out of the state to furniture factories.

The State holds about 7% of the land claimed by the native people, and the rest is privately held, mostly by the big paper corporations and the Pingree heirs, who have a vast private forest. The tax revenue from the lands claimed is estimated at about \$130-million.

Until now, the pulp and paper companies have not reported a word of this suit to their stockholders.

There are other non-Indians in Maine who regard the state's great wilderness areas as one of the last holdouts in the U.S. against the onslaught of freeways, jetports, shopping plazas and condominiums, one of the last places in the east where you can drink pure water and breathe pure air in the silence of vast forests.

Many of these people feel this environment will be safer in the hands of the People who kept it that way for thousands of years. They note that the pulp and paper industry has not been noted for its environmental record.

Senabeh, a Penobscot medicine man, says "no one loves this land the way we do. To us it is sacred. We came from it and return to it. The earth is our mother, and we are her children."

The question of federal recognition of the native people of Maine is a double-edged sword, however. For other nations and peoples in the West, U.S. recognition has meant U.S. control and exploitation of natural resources. With lots of federal dollars to hand out, the U.S. has had little difficulty in installing colonial or puppet governments to rubber stamp the exploitation of Indian lands by corporate interests.

That means federal recognition could bring in a whole new bevy of exploiters. The multi-million-dollar Pittston Co., a N.Y.-based conglomerate that has been engaged in a controversial attempt to build a refinery and tank complex at Eastport which would take up nearly one-third of the islands has been silent about the land claims. Would it have a better chance of getting a federal lease if the native people won their claim? That is the sort of question that must be faced. Pittston's subsidiary, the Metropolitan Oil Company, has been the subject of environmentalists' concern due to its plan to deliver crude oil in huge supertankers. The recent wave of tanker accidents has made this a very hot issue on the New England coast, and it is likely that the industry would consider the U.S. Government, as trustee of Indian lands, a lot more congenial to its interests than the state and local governments.

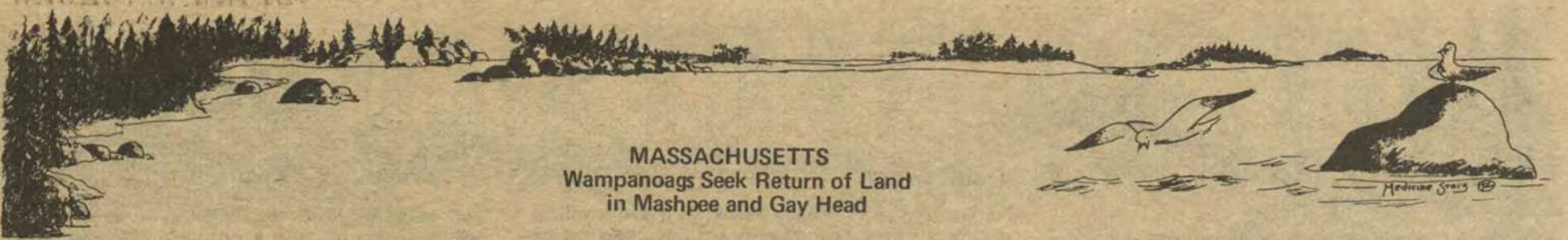
Thus, many native people are beginning to consider the sovereignty issue more carefully, so as to recognize the importance of keeping control of their lands in their own hands, not in those of the Interior Department.

"This case has been in litigation for more than seven years," Penobscot Governor Nicholas Sapiel says. "We understand it could take at least that many more years before a final settlement. But we Indians are a patient people. We can negotiate. We can wait. When all the pieces fall into place, the Penobscots will return once again to their rightful role as a nation — independent, and with the authority and ability to make our own decisions."

And Then There's the New Brunswick People

In Canada, the Passamaquoddy People are known as Malecites — one People divided by someone else's border. Loomis Sappier, 47, a student at St. Thomas University in Fredericton, says while everyone is talking about land claims, they might as well know Maine took hundreds of thousands of acres of Malecite land in northern Aroostook County, extending as far as the Malecite Reservation near Perth, New Brunswick.





MASSACHUSETTS Wampanoags Seek Return of Land in Mashpee and Gay Head

In Massachusetts, the Wampanoag Nation began actions to recover some of its ancestral lands. Indications now are that out-of-court settlements may be made for all undeveloped land in the two towns which formerly belonged entirely to the Wampanoags — a few small parcels were returned in 1976.

In the Fall River-Freetown State Forest, 227 acres were returned to the Nation in compensation for the Watuppa Reservation appropriated by the City of Fall River from the Troy Wampanoags in 1900. The return was accomplished by executive order of Governor Michael Dukakis, who also gave formal state recognition to the Mashpee and Gay Head tribes of the Wampanoag Nation, as well as the Hassanamisco Nipmuc People.

On the island of Martha's Vineyard, the suit of the Aquinnah (Gay Head) Wampanoag Council for the return of the town's common lands was made moot when the town voted to give the lands back.

A suit entered in U.S. District Court by the Mashpee People for the return of their traditional lands in the town of Mashpee has brought booming real estate and second-home development businesses to a sudden halt. The real estate interests have hired former U.S. President Richard Nixon's Watergate lawyer, James St. Clair, to defend the suit.

"Right now, the real estate market in Mashpee is non-existent for all practical purposes," says Mashpee selectman George Benway, one of the leading real estate agents in town. "Building funds have dried up — the whole town has stopped."

In the plush rental office at New Seabury, Christopher C. Kuebler, the director of marketing, sits alone in his office, all but the maintenance staff laid off. "We have lost in excess of a million dollars in real estate transactions since the suit was filed," he says.

But real estate's loss has been a Wampanoag gain — maybe a gain for all people and the earth as well. The development boom which destroyed the beauty and character of the rest of Cape Cod in the past ten years had only just begun in Mashpee. It was inevitable that when Hyannis and Falmouth on either side were glutted with motels and shopping plazas and drive-ins, the development interests would be attracted to this relatively poor and forgotten little Indian town with its untouched forests of oak and pine, its bluewater bays and coves and lakes, its soft white beaches and dunes, its quiet meadows and hills and clear streams, where property taxes are among the lowest.

With the influx of new development, including the wealthy New Seabury estates, Mashpee native people have had the control of the town taken from them in a matter of the last few years. During that time, the native people went from an 80% majority to a 20% minority. The population of the town has doubled.

"The political and business forces are at work destroying Mashpee, trying to make it the fastest-growing most affluent and sophisticated community on Cape Cod," says Russell Peters, president of the Mashpee Wampanoag Council. The outsiders do not have the same feeling for the land and treat it like a business, he explains.

At one time, the Wampanoag Nation extended throughout southeastern Massachusetts, including Cape Cod and the Islands, but gradually as the Europeans grew in numbers, they forced the Original Americans off their ancestral homes and on to reservation lands. In 1870, the last two remaining reservations of Mashpee and Gay Head were taken from the People by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and incorporated under state law. Being poor, many native families were unable to pay property taxes and lost their allotted lands. Prior to 1870, the land belonged to the Wampanoags in common, and could not be lost or sold.

The 1790 U.S. Non-Intercourse Act says that the action of Massachusetts is completely illegal, since it was taken by the state without the consent of the U.S. Government. The native people of Mashpee want the lands returned to them, under law, for without it, they know their days as a people are numbered. Genocide wears many faces.

Opposing the Wampanoags are the big money interests, who have tried to turn public opinion against the native people by implying the loss of property and homes.

"We can't be held responsible for what our ancestors did to the Indians more than 100 years ago," says Mashpee selectman Kevin O'Connell, although he is willing to profit from his ancestors' actions. "They want to come along and take away our homes, our businesses — like hell they will!"

But attorney Barry Margolin emphasizes again and again the Wampanoags do not want to displace homeowners. As the suit stands, it would establish full Indian control over 1070 acres now in the town's name, 1305 acres in the name of New Seabury and all other business property, that is, these areas would be subject to Indian jurisdiction. Possession is not being sought, except for undeveloped land.

As in Maine, there are many non-Indians who favor the Wampanoag claim as the only way to save the beauty of this quiet corner of Cape Cod. Others are indifferent. Mashpee local attorney Richard Cohen feels that the "title of the town will change hands, and the homeowners will end up paying the same kind of 'rent' that they pay now under the name of 'taxes'. What we'll end up with is a pretty prosaic town, run by Indians."

With some important differences. When the town was being run by Wampanoags, there was a notable absence of "no trespassing" signs. As matters now stand, native people no longer have access to the bays and beaches in most places, and the town has curtailed Wampanoag hunting and fishing rights. Even before the suit was begun, there was rising ill will between the native and non-native populations.

Last July 28, nine Wampanoag youths and two juveniles were arrested for singing and drumming under an "anti-noise" law by Mashpee town police. The singing was at the site of the traditional Wampanoag village by Mashpee Pond. A closer examination of the case shows some irregularities, however. According to the young people, they were asked by the police to stop the drumming earlier in the evening. They say they put the drum away in a tent, and asked if they could continue to camp there overnight, which the police said was all right. But later, the police returned, reinforced by police from other municipalities and the State Police, to arrest the eleven young people, who charge the police with excessive force. They were slapped, tents were overturned, and their property was destroyed, they say.

The chief of the Mashpee police is a Wampanoag — but he said he had not been notified of the arrest. A mile away from the traditional village site, a road house with live electronic music nightly generates noise — but apparently some non-Indians are worried about the sounds of Indian drums.

Their case is being defended by Lew Gurwitz, a Boston attorney who helped with the Wounded Knee defenses. For the first time in a Massachusetts court, the native witnesses were sworn in by touching a Sacred Pipe instead of a Christian Bible.

The Wampanoags have been unified by the arrests, as well as the land claim. Their awareness of their traditional culture and values is on the upswing. "One of the objectives of the Wampanoag Council is to revive the language and reconstitute the culture," says council president Peters. "There is a desire to maintain our identity."

Ramona Peters, daughter of Mashpee medicine man Slow Turtle, says the native people have retained a lot more of their culture than anyone realizes. "There is still a lot of knowledge of the old ways of survival from the land and the sea. It isn't thought of as specifically 'Indian' always, but it really is," she says. She and others are teaching traditional crafts, and a young Wampanoag man, Nanepashemet, is teaching a class in the Wampanoag language.

Russell Peters exemplifies what is happening with the Wampanoags. He was educated at Morgan State College in the European Western value system of money, competition, material success and power. But after working as a computer salesman he came home to Mashpee four years ago. "I had a lot to learn about the ways of our People, and I still have a lot to learn — but I'm learning," he says. "I was out chasing something — I was looking for success. But I always admired our People back here. They were close to the Earth, and they always enjoyed themselves so much."

As in Maine, there is a desire by non-Indian officialdom to circumvent the law with legislation to guarantee titles and ensure that any court judgment would be in money, not Land. But the Wampanoags are not in the case for the cash — it is their Land and Way of Life that is threatened by outside interests.

"We've been told time and time again to work within the system, and that's exactly what we're doing," says Peters. "We don't want our neighbor's money — we just want our land."

The struggle is the same at Gay Head, only there are no wealthy real estate interests to buy an expensive defense, and so on December 9, the small community voted 53-28 to return 250 acres of town common lands to the Wampanoags raising a cheer of victory in the tiny town hall. There had been much discussion before the vote, with a non-Indian group called the "Gay Head Taxpayers' Association" wanting an amendment that the land should remain subject to the town's zoning laws. They said they wanted to assure free access to all people and environmental protection for the land, which consists of the famous Gay Head colored cliffs, beaches, dunes, cranberry bogs, and the Herring Creek.

Leonard Vanderhoop, 84, a Wampanoag, and a retired town official, told the meeting, "The Indians never restricted the use of their land. It was only after the white man came along that he began putting up 'no trespassing' signs. We have no intention of keeping people off the land."

As for the environment, the native people put more faith in the ability of their own council to preserve the Earth than the laws of the non-Indians, which have everywhere allowed the earth to be exploited and polluted.

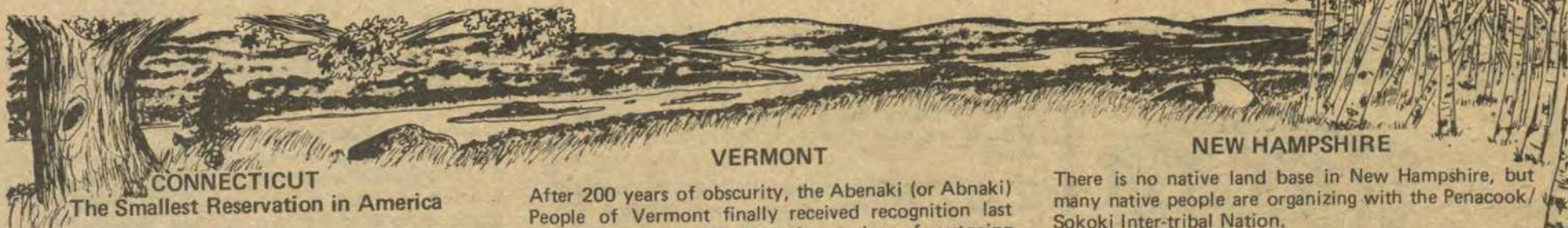
There is still more Gay Head land that belongs to the Wampanoags. According to Wenonah Silva, Gay Head Council president, the council is considering the possibility of following the same course as Mashpee, in getting back all unimproved land in Gay Head for common ownership, giving legal title to anyone who has a house there. The Gay Head People own their own council building, the land it is on, and the ancestral burying ground. Until the recent land return, that was all they had.

Last year, the Mashpee People received a 55-acre tract of woodland, upon which they hosted the first intertribal unity conference in the area and a revival of the traditional Nikommosachmiawene, or sachem's council feast. Grand Sachem Drifting Goose (Ellsworth Oakley) spoke of the great strides his people were making toward unity, identity, and sovereignty. Seneca Beeman Logan, a traditional chief of the Longhouse at Tonawanda, spoke of the need for the unity of all native peoples to survive and live the Original Instructions of the Creator. Senabeh of the Penobscots spoke of the love and responsibility native people have for the earth, while Madas, a 75-year-old Penobscot grandmother, spoke with feeling of the Old Ways and the need for the nations to come together "as one family and fight to save our land, our Mother Earth."

Everywhere, the native people of Maine and Massachusetts are being asked: "But what will you do with the land if you get it back?"

To that, Slow Turtle says simply, "Let it be. Keep it the way it is, the way it always has been."





CONNECTICUT

The Smallest Reservation in America

The 78-member Paugusett (Golden Hill) People have won a battle to keep their quarter-acre reservation, the smallest in North America, not much bigger than a city lot. After three years of wrangling with the State of Connecticut, Chief Big Eagle (Aurelius Piper) may get a new log house on the tiny plot.

But in the struggle, the Golden Hill People learned they may still have a valid claim on all of downtown Bridgeport. Attorney William Kunstler has been acting for the Paugusetts, and says a suit may be filed.

In 1659, the General Court at New Haven established for the Paugusett People of the Pequonnock River area, Pequot Nation, a reservation of 80 acres near Golden Hill Street in Bridgeport. In 1763, the Paugusetts were removed to Shelton, and in 1800 relocated again to 20 acres in Nichols. This land was sold off by the state's Indian agent in 1854, except for the quarter-acre. In 1875, William Sherman bought the quarter-acre site, and for 100 years, his descendants lived there. On the death of Chief Black Hawk (Edward Sherman), Big Eagle, his uncle, moved onto the property. He was selected as chief by the senior women, and confirmed in office by the Paugusett Council.

Earlier this year, the State had razed the old Sherman house on the property, intending to build a new one. However, the owner of the adjacent property raised questions about the title and status of the reservation. While the controversy raged on, the chief and his son moved into a tipi, and native people from all over the state and the land, including Clyde Bellecourt and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement, appeared at the reservation to lend moral support. Truckloads of firewood, warm clothes and blankets were brought in.

While Big Eagle's right to the reservation was under attack, his 83-year-old mother came out to support him. "My father was a full-blooded Golden Hill Indian, and my husband was a Cherokee," she said. "I was born on that reservation in 1893, and I lived there and raised my children there. People know that I lived there, and that Aurelius Piper lived there as a little fellow."

Big Eagle wants to have a cultural center and school for native children in the new house. But more, he wants the return of the rest of the 20 acres as tangible evidence that justice is beginning to come to his People.

On December 1, the Schaghticoke People won an early skirmish in U.S. District Court when Judge M. Joseph Blumenfeld ruled against Kent School, Preston Mountain Club, and four other owners of mostly undeveloped land on the Housatonic River which the Schaghticoques say was illegally taken from them. The defendants had attempted to claim the land as compensation for medical debts incurred by the Schaghticoques, and that "passage of time" had confirmed their ownership. The court found no merit in this argument, however. Two Schaghticoques now live on the 384-acre state-controlled reservation in Kent, and the suit aims to recover 1,600 acres of the former 2,000-acre reservation.

The Mashantucket (Western) Pequots also have a land claim suit for 800 acres taken from their reservation in Ledyard, which is now 213 acres. Connecticut's other reservation is the Eastern Pequots' area in North Stonington.

A minor victory was won for native people in Connecticut last year in gaining transfer of bureaucratic responsibility from the State Welfare Department to a new Indian Affairs Branch in the Department of Environmental Protection, run by Brendon Kelleher, Indian Affairs Coordinator.

RHODE ISLAND

The Narragansett Nation has begun a suit to reclaim 3200 acres in Charlestown taken from the Nation by the State of Rhode Island in 1880 — again in violation of the U.S. Non-Intercourse Act. 1500 acres of this land are now owned by the state, the rest by 30 individuals, clubs, and corporations. Office buildings and homes are excluded from the suit.

Under an executive order of the state's governor, Rhode Island's first Indian Commission has been formed, chaired by Chief Roaring Bull (Ferris Dove) of Arcadia, to serve the interests of the state's 4,000 native people.

At present, the Narragansetts have only 2½ acres in Charlestown, with a longhouse and a stone church, but they continue to celebrate the traditional harvest festivals each year. Saketeau (Ella Thomas) and her husband, Strong Heart, are active in keeping the traditions, culture, and knowledge alive, together with others such as Red Deer (Cecil Addison) who is reviving the spoken Narragansett language. Tall Oak, who is an AIM activist; Big Toe (William Wilcox), vice-president of the United Indians of New England, and Chief Running Wolf (Lloyd Williams).

VERMONT

After 200 years of obscurity, the Abenaki (or Abnaki) People of Vermont finally received recognition last autumn by way of executive order of outgoing Governor Thomas P. Salmon. However, the recognition was short-lived, as the newly-elected governor Richard Snelling said he didn't feel bound by his predecessor's action, and he rescinded the order and set up his own Indian Affairs Commission.

The critical difference between the Salmon commission and the new one is that Salmon gave the Abnaki Tribal Council power to appoint two commission members. But Snelling kept full authority over all members. The new order does not mention the Abnaki Nation or People. Instead, he made a side remark that he considered the Abnaki Tribal Council a "private organization."

Kent Ouimette of Swanton, tribal administrator of the Abnaki Tribal Council and a member of the original five-man commission, said Snelling's decision contradicted assurances the Abnakis had received earlier.

The issue in Vermont, however, is not recognition, but the unlimited hunting and fishing rights the Abenakis seek. Noting that their hunting rights have never been surrendered, the Abenakis — who have no land base for their survival — want to hunt and fish to feed their families. That has upset the "sportsmen" of the state.

Anthropologist Jane S. Baker, appointed by Governor Salmon to study the situation, reported that the Abenakis just wanted to hunt and fish for survival. "They have a long heritage of fishing and hunting and are certainly not after the right to go around abusing anything. The feeling was that if in the middle of winter they were out of food, they would be able to go out and shoot a deer."

John Randolph, in an editorial in the *Vermont Sportsman* magazine, scoffs at the Baker report and refers to another anthro, Gordon Day, of the Institute of Man in Ottawa, to refute her. Randolph states that Day believes there are only eleven families of Abenaki descent in Vermont.

Governor Snelling had already made his personal feelings known. "The notion that people who have a certain genetic makeup must be given a different set of rights than all others is essentially a racist notion. It is one I find personally repugnant," he said, although without making the historical connection that it is that "notion" that caused his ancestors to dispossess the native people of their Vermont lands in the first place.

A spokesman for the Abnaki Support Committee, Barry Levins, countered that the native people seek no special privileges, "only the right to survive as Indians have for thousands of years." He said that fewer than 600 Abenakis would qualify for the hunting rights, as compared to the 15,000 licenses issued annually to out-of-state sportsmen by the State of Vermont.

Most of the Abenakis live in the northwest section of the state, centering around Swanton, which was known to them as Mississquoi. Historically, they too belong to the Wabanaki Confederacy, which includes the Micmac, Malecite/Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Peoples, among others.

In 1759, Rogers' Rangers attacked Mississquoi at night when the men were away on a hunt and killed many of the women and children there. The attack was brutal — most of the slayings took place in the Catholic Church, into which the people had gathered for sanctuary. Survivors took temporary refuge at Akwesasne, located due west of them. Later, many of the Abenakis went to St. Francis in Quebec, where there is an Abenaki Reserve still.

In 1765, John Robertson leased a five-mile-wide strip along Lake Champlain for 99 years to revert to the Abenakis in 1856. This did not happen, and the Abenakis would like this land returned to them.

Western Vermont is also subject to a long-standing claim of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne and Caughnawaga.

Ron Canns of the Abenaki Council says that although native children represent 20% of the enrollment in Swanton schools, federal funds for Indian education were refused on the ground there were no Indians. As a result, the Abenakis formed a free Indian school in Swanton.

The report of the Vermont Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights indicates harassment and discrimination against native people by Swanton and Franklin County police and justice officials. Detailing instances of alleged harassment, police brutality, and discrimination against people seen coming to Abenaki Council meetings, Chief Homer St. Francis said the law enforcement officials of the area "make the Mafia look like schoolchildren."

Governor Salmon's executive order also established a commission to investigate and report on the situation of the native people of the state who are seeking, in addition to the hunting and fishing rights, a small tract of land near Swanton, and the management of the Mississquoi National Wildlife Refuge.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

There is no native land base in New Hampshire, but many native people are organizing with the Penacook/Sokoki Inter-tribal Nation.

In the absence of native custodians of the land, a people's group have organized to protest construction of a nuclear plant on the site of a burial grounds at Seabrook. The coalition plans to present a people's document recognizing that land as being under the care of the Penacook/Sokokis, and to continue to press for a halt to the construction.

NEW BRUNSWICK

The New Brunswick Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians has asked that 900 acres of land in the southwest of that province, which was declared abandoned in 1976, be turned over to them. Roland Boudreau, New Brunswick natural resources minister, says the matter is too controversial — even among native people — and he wants to discuss the matter with all elected representatives.

Before the European invasion, the only law known to the original inhabitants of the Land now known as "New England" was the Creator's Law, Natural Law. Those people lived in freedom and in harmony with the Creation. They needed no statutes or courts, no judges or lawyers, for justice was in the heart of each who lived in the Creator's Way. No one disagreed with that law — if you broke the law, you knew you had broken it, and you submitted to the judgment of your people.

The Europeans came seeking freedom, but brought with them a desire for riches and power that enslaves the mind and destroys freedom. They also brought law — not the Creator's law, but their own law, a system of law that spoke of kings and queens and which was a weapon in their quest for power and riches. With that law, they were able to justify the taking of the lands of the native nations by force, robbery, or trickery.

The native people have resisted that taking in many ways. Currently, one form of that resistance is to use that law which they have been told they must follow to get back some — just a little — of the lost lands.

The question is survival as a People. Survival means Land — Land that can support a people who are willing to live simply upon it, close to it, supported by its gifts and their own efforts. Survival also means the freedom to control the affairs of the nation and the People, to determine their own destiny.

In 1832, U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall declared that the Non-Intercourse Acts, which are now being invoked by the native nations of the East, "manifestly consider the several Indian nations as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries within which their authority is exclusive."

Some of the surviving groups are now small in number, and are finding strength in unity with others as the Pequot Nation, the Wampanoag Nation, the Wabanaki Confederacy. The Algonkin-speaking nations of the East are gradually working toward an alliance of mutual protection, for they have more in common with each other than they do with the U.S. and state governments around them. Someday, as justice returns to the land, this alliance of indigenous nations will be known in the family of the nations of the world.

The legal problems of all native nations are basically involved with securing the sovereignty of the nations within their own territories. In addition, there is often compensation in the form of goods, services, or money to replace the aboriginal economies that land cessions made unfeasible or impossible. For most of the nations in the West, this has meant forcing the United States to live up to its treaty obligations, but for the Eastern Peoples, it means first retrieving the lands which were taken illegally by the states, and then making treaties with the United States to secure and protect their lands and their sovereignty.

But sovereign nations, independent and free, will come only as a people work for this, and work to become self-sufficient. Sovereign nations will not long remain sovereign if they depend on the handouts of the Great White Father in Washington. Sovereign nations, Natural Nations, must support each other, recreating the unity that the Natural People once had.

If we are to be a sovereign People, we must return to our Original Instructions, following the Creator's laws of respect and harmony, caring for our Mother the Earth and all of her family, of which we are a part, paying attention to the traditions and lessons of our ancestors, heeding the wisdom of our Old Ones, giving love and the guidance of good example to our Young Ones, and so shape our lives as to leave a better world for the unborn generations.

Medicine Story

[Thanks to Associated Press, United Press International, New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Maine Times, Maine Sunday Telegram, Boston Globe, Boston Herald American, Hartford Courant, Trumbull Times, Providence Journal Bulletin, Yankee, Burlington Free Press, Rutland Herald, New Hampshire Times, The New Englander, Russell Peters, Wenonah Silva, Nanepashemet, for information used here.]

WASHINGTON



NORTHWEST FISHING STRUGGLE STILL ON DESPITE FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS

Tacoma, Washington — When the Puyallup Nation signed the Medicine Cree Treaty in 1857, they reserved to themselves 20,000 acres of land overlapping what is now the City of Tacoma and lying between it and Seattle in a valley that opens up on Puget Sound. Today, the Puyallup People own a little more than six acres.

On the Puyallup land, the Cushman Indian Hospital had operated during the 1930s under a lease agreement with the U.S. Government. In 1939, Congress appropriated money for the purchase of the land and buildings for "Indian Sanitarium purposes" and a new 350-bed hospital was completed in 1943.

But gradually, with the implementation of the U.S. Termination Policy" cutting off "special relationships" the services of the hospital were at first curtailed, and then cut off completely. In spite of the fact that at the time, the infant mortality of Washington State native people was three times higher than that of the general population, and in the face of protests by local groups, the hospital and lands were declared "surplus" in 1960 so that the U.S. could transfer the hospital to the State of Washington the following year.

The Puyallup Nation continued to maintain a claim to the land. As of Autumn, 1976, negotiations between the Puyallups and the State had resulted only in an offer to allow the Puyallups to use a cottage on the hospital grounds as an Indian out-patient clinic. The State wanted to continue using the property as a juvenile detention facility.

Since that was the best they could do, the Puyallups said all right, and on October 23, about 200 Puyallups and guests were at the hospital, now known as the Cascadia Detention Facility, celebrating the opening of the new clinic. After dinner, approximately fifty native people descended from the 5th floor open house, accompanied by their own police force, and served an eviction notice on the assistant shift officer, seized the switchboard and assumed control of the building.

Resolution number 76-10-23 of the Puyallup Tribal Council declared the center to be "in possession of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians as its sovereign and rightful owners."

"We've been involved in the legislative process for the past several years, and have now decided to act," said Ramona Bennett, tribal chairwoman. "The hospital is ours — and we have it."



— Tacoma News Tribune photo by Russ Carmack
The Puyallups Return For Their Promised Land

The State immediately entered into serious negotiations and continued steadily until agreement was reached. At one point in the negotiations, after the director of the State's Department of Social and Health Services [DSHS] reneged on an agreement, Ramona Bennett refused to negotiate privately, and transferred the talks to the main floor lounge, where native people, supporters, and the press could witness the proceedings.

Outside supporters responded quickly to the situation, and secured funds, food, supplies and favorable publicity for the occupation. Over 700 telegrams in support of the Puyallup Nation were sent to government officials, and even the press seemed sympathetic to the action.

But on October 26, the State went into Federal Court to seek an injunction against the occupation. The following day, U.S. Judge Morell Sharp said he would issue a restraining order enforceable by federal marshals effective at 4 p.m. on October 28. Burdman had said during the negotiations that the State of Washington would be willing to give up the facility eventually, but he wouldn't "give it up with a gun". Ramona Bennet remarked that the State was turning to armed federal marshals to get the Puyallups out.

Judge Sharp termed the occupation nothing less than an "inexcusable and disruptive affair" and said that if the Puyallups wanted the facility, they had other avenues to obtain the property.

Ramona Bennett disagreed. "I have been to Washington, D.C., at least 15 to 20 times in the last five years. I have been to the state and met with state senators and all they could do was look at me straight in the eyes and do nothing."

The peaceful occupation lasted seven days. The Puyallups agreed to leave after Burdman promised the State would not press charges, but he did say the state might file a civil suit for recovery of damages or property lost as a result of the takeover.

Activists in the area remember that some of the same persons participating in the Cascadia occupation were involved in a similar occupation in 1974 at the Gethsemane Cemetery. That action had been called to press the Roman Catholic church for lands promised for Indian education.



In both cases, the Puyallup Nation addressed two problems: education and health care, both promised in treaties for land that they had transferred for specific purposes.

Significantly, the dramatic action of the takeovers accomplished something native people seem to be unable to do by "peaceful methods" — although the takeover was completely without violence or bloodshed. And significantly, no one, during the occupation of Cascadia, ever even tried the line that the Puyallups had no right to the property. Their rights seemed clear enough to everyone.

The final agreement specified that the state would work with the Puyallups for the return of the property, and the U.S. Government agreed to do everything administratively and legislatively necessary to facilitate the return. These promises were obtained in writing. Also agreed was that one of the buildings and six of the 30 acres of land would be turned over to the U.S. Government to be held in trust for the Puyallups for

their use as a center for social services and health facilities.

However, the ink on the agreement was hardly dry when the State set up a legislative committee to fight against turning over the facility to the Puyallups. The State said it would refuse to honor the agreement unless the Puyallups reimbursed it for \$1.7-million it has spent on the facility.

WASHINGTON STATE SQUIRMS ON DEAL TO RETURN PUYALLUP TRIBAL LANDS

Tacoma, Washington — Back in 1974, when a United States court upheld the legal right of native peoples to fish in the river systems of the States of Oregon and Washington, most of the native people thought the decision heralded an end of long struggle. They under-estimated the way greed and racism determines behavior of many white peoples.

Far from an end to the struggle, recent months have seen fishing rights escalate into a major factor in state politics, and the emergence of violence by white fishermen directed against Indian fishermen.

Those who are unwilling to face the issue of racism want to blame Governor Isaac Stevens, who in 1854 started a whirlwind tour through the Pacific Northwest and returned with a handful of treaties entered into with a number of native nations. Not long after that, the native people decided they had been cheated, and there followed a bloody resistance. The treaties which were signed at the time, and which were ratified by the U.S. Senate to become U.S. law, are still in effect.

At that time, Stevens was compelled by circumstances to enter into treaties which promised that for all time, the U.S. of America would honor and enforce the rights of the native nations who were and are fishermen by trade, in their traditional fishing areas.

The people and governments of Washington and Oregon never paid much attention to the treaty. Fish and game departments from those states consistently tried to keep the native people from exercising their off-reservation treaty fishing rights. The Pacific Northwest was the scene of years of extended and ugly conflict between the Indian Peoples who were trying to exercise their fishing rights, and the States, which had passed regulations which made Indians outlaws in their own land. Indians were continually beaten, jailed, harassed, and their fishing gear confiscated and destroyed.

The fishing rights controversy is an important issue for a number of reasons. It brings to the attention of many people the fact that the treaties are not simply outdated historical documents which no longer have any relevance. Indeed, much of the present controversy has hinged upon a decision of a U.S. District court which recognizes the treaty as totally in force and effect.

That decision was reached on February 12, 1974, by Judge George C. Boldt. In January, 1976, the Boldt Decision was upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The decision was not a total victory, however — in upholding the Indians' rights, he also granted the state emergency powers to close fishing areas for conservation purposes. The state has arbitrarily exploited this closure power to prevent Indians from achieving their quotas.

Even so, a backlash of anti-Indian sentiment continues to fuel the controversy. Boldt has been hanged in effigy. A group of independent white fishermen who call themselves The Gillnetters have conducted a campaign which has involved violence directed toward Indian fishermen, and a defiance of state laws. Non-Indian gillnetters still attempt to ram and sink Indian vessels. Indian equipment and boats are vandalized, and gillnetters have used firearms to drive Indian fishermen out of fishing areas that are legally proper for them to fish.

While the Gillnetters attack Indians, the state and some local papers have tacitly encouraged the violence. The gillnetters feel driven to desperate measures by economic pressures, they say, claiming they are moving towards bankruptcy. There is no question that the present arrangement is not to their advantage. But the Indians are taking only an estimated 15% of the total salmon run, and Indians caught violating arbitrary closure orders are often arrested, jailed, fined, and their boats and gear confiscated, just as before.

Last October, the "fish war" erupted into violence again, this time involving gangs of fishing boats uniting to ram state fisheries patrol vessels, and there were dozens of arrests in citations. Still, in comparison to the violence which had been directed previously by state officials toward native fishermen, the confrontation was mild.

On October 6, the arrest of a single white fisherman sparked a seaborne riot as more than 30 fishing boats ganged up on two state patrol vessels, nearly sinking one and damaging both. A Coast Guard cutter called to the scene was also rammed.

Then on October 24, 24-year-old William Carlson was shot by a state fisheries patrol officer in what officials say was an attempt by Carlson to ram a fisheries patrol boat in waters that had been closed to fishing. During the week preceding the shooting, gillnetters conducted a terror campaign of high-speed passes at patrol boats, attempting to swamp them and drown the officers. The patrolman who fired on Carlson was simply trying to prevent Carlson from ramming his 35-foot gillnet boat into the smaller patrol skiff, slicing it in half.

Two days after Carlson was shot, gillnetters flew black flags to meet U.S. President Gerald Ford's hydrofoil

vessel when he arrived in Seattle for an election rally. Some were waving signs decrying the fate of their new martyr and proclaiming their "Revolt Against Boldt." A few years back, such actions by native people — who were proved to be legally correct — were met by brutal force.

After Ford's visit, hundreds of incensed gillnetters and their families marched around the State Capitol, demanding that the governor and the legislature disarm the fisheries patrols, and to stop the restrictions on their fishing. The angry crowd denounced the closures as a product of a scheme to allocate fish to the Indians — blind to the fact that the state had also closed off waters to Indians claiming it was an emergency conservation measure, although the deep-sea corporate fisheries and charter boats seem to be able to continue without problems.

Under the terms of the Boldt decision, the state was directed to provide the Indians the opportunity to harvest 50% of the Puget Sound salmon run.

The real cause of the gillnetters' woes is not Indian fishing, however. Pollution and dams have reduced the number of fish, and the remainder are depredated by the large fish-packing corporations whose giant ocean-going factories harvest much of the available salmon.

Packing companies and charter boats together harvested over 2,000,000 salmon in 1976.

Dams on the Columbia and Snake rivers and their tributaries have cut in half the natural habitat available to Columbia Basin salmon and steelhead runs. Increasing demand for irrigation water has brought the threat of low river flows, and in the case of the Umatilla River for three miles above its confluence with the Columbia, no flow at all. Dredging by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has threatened fish and wildlife, as millions of cubic yards of silt have been dumped on river sites, destroying habitat.

In 1968, a federal judge had ruled that Oregon had "consistently ignored the rights" of the Indians, and ordered that state to no longer discriminate against treaty Indians. He also ruled that the Indians were entitled to a fair share of the fish. His decision was basically ignored in practice by the Oregon and Washington fish and game departments. It is possible that this consistent and long-standing practice of denying the legal rights of Indians was a factor in Judge Boldt's decision to allot a definite percentage of the harvestable salmon to the native fisheries.



To add more fuel to the fire, following the Boldt decision, the state of Washington callously doubled the number of fishing licenses issued, and deliberately instigated the current financial crisis among the gillnetters. In that way, the rage of the small-businessmen gillnetters is vented on the Indians, rather than on the industrial polluters, the packing companies, the hydro-electric energy installations.

Indian tribal leaders fear further violence, and expect to be the next victims. Their frustration with the lack of state protection, and their apprehension over increased and increasingly-violent attacks, have led them to call on the FBI to intervene and protect their civil rights. But most realistic native people expect little actual help from the very FBI agents who are presently harrasing native people nationwide, and who have compiled a truly demonic record in their dealings with Indian people over the past few years.

A trial date for the next phase of the Indian fishing rights case has been set tentatively for January 9, 1978. In this matter, treaty Indians are seeking what amounts to a veto power over state actions that could affect the fish-producing capacity of the waters. This phase of the litigation is aimed at preventing continued deterioration of the fisheries as a result of shoreline development which reduces the quality of the aquatic habitat. If the native people are correct in demanding their rights, they could obtain overview of state authority in highway construction, logging, residential and industrial development, and power installations.

[Thanks to Fred Hyde and the Freedom Socialist, Grants Pass Daily Courier, Tacoma News Tribune, the Oregonian, Ralph W. Johnson and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, for part of the information used here.]

FEDERAL GRAND JURY INVESTIGATES ALLEGATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN SENECA NATION ELECTED GOVERNMENT; OFFICIALS DENY WRONG-DOING

Buffalo, New York — It is said that when the United States of America formed its government, it turned to the Iroquois Confederacy to learn how to create a democracy.

Now, with that government deteriorating to the point of the recent Watergate scandals, it seems that elected Seneca Nation officials have learned something from the Watergaters and a major scandal is brewing on the reservation near here.

Actually, a faction of the Seneca Nation encouraged the abandonment of traditional government a century ago, and since the intervention of foreign law, the nation has witnessed a long history of internal corruption. Recently, accusations by Senecas directed at elected officials have caused a U.S. Grand Jury to probe suspected misuse of funds by council officials and employees.

The investigation seems to be centering in on allegations that Calvin E. Lay of the Cattaraugus Reservation, president, and Robert C. Hoag of the Allegany Reservation, treasurer, participated in a scheme of "kickbacks" and disguised payments to insure their victory in an election held last November.

U.S. Attorneys here have subpoenaed the employment records of four current employees and one former employee. They are James Redeye, Jr., Chief Marshall, Stuart Redeye, Jr., Earl Redeye, and Virgil Halftown, all construction workers. Records of former chief game warden Bradley Redeye, whose recent firing by Hoag is said to have spurred the allegations, were also subpoenaed.

Both Hoag, who formerly was president and now treasurer, and Lay, formerly treasurer and now president, deny knowledge of the investigation and the charges. "I don't know what this is all about," Lay says.

"The allegations are not true," Hoag says. "I have nothing to hide or be ashamed of."

The U.S. Attorney's office is not talking about the case, saying it has an obligation "for grand jury secrecy." "At this point we are merely looking into records," assistant U.S. Attorney Donald O'Conner said.

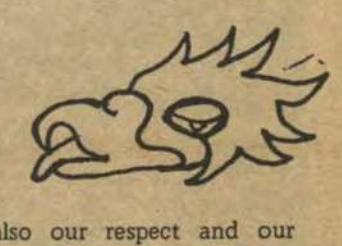
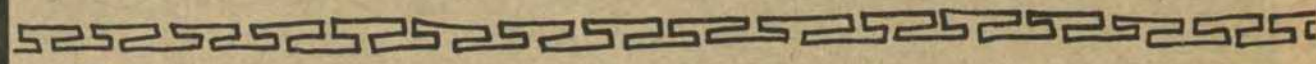
Meanwhile, however, several members of the Seneca Nation support the allegations, saying employees have purchased equipment and appliances by charging them to Seneca Nation accounts, and then have sold them for personal profits.

Most of the charges center around illicit pre-election "expenses". In a letter to the editor which appeared in the *Salamanca Press*, one "concerned Seneca" states, "It is a known fact, among Senecas at least, that unusually large travel and expense checks were drawn often during the month of October preceding the tribal election."

Bradley Redeye has said that he and others drew heavily against an account funded through a Title X grant to the Seneca Nation, and over a period of weeks he claims that he took about \$15,000 to \$18,000 for the purpose of purchasing votes, liquor, parties, and similar favors.

"We started making out vouchers: mileage expense account, labelled as special patrol, game warden patrol, putting up no hunting posters. These were turned in three times a week. Sometimes the total each time would come to \$800. With these checks, I would pay people who wanted to sell their vote before election. Also, this money was used on pre-election parties, paying for bands and food, beer, etc. Also for buying at the bars for treats from People's Party. These vouchers were signed and approved by Robert Hoag and the checks were signed by Calvin Ray," Redeye says.

Insiders report that the list of involved persons who could be charged with federal offenses could run as high as thirty.



Being hour one of the day Mahtlakzipaktli Atlakaualko Ome Akatl, Xiuitl, (the first of March, 1975), gathered together en el Pichacho del Koatepetl (the Neck of the Snake), in the municipality of Coacalco, State of Mexico, we proceeded to light the Yankuik Tletl, the new ritual fire, corresponding to the 43rd cycle of 52 years of the Mexikatl chronology, in fulfilment of the mandate derived from the declaration of August 12, 1521, given by the Hue Tlahtokan, the Supreme Council of the Government of the Confederation of Anauak, presided over at that time by the Hue Tlakatekuhtzintli Kuauhtemok. As we transcribe it:

Declaration of August 12, 1521

Mandate to the Mexicans of All Times, to the Mexicans of the Future:

Our sun has been eclipsed. Our sun has disappeared from sight. And it has left us in complete darkness.

But we know it will return. It will come out again. And once again, it will give us light.

But in the meantime, it remains in the house of the dead. Let us meet, let us gather together, and let's hide in the centre of the heart all who love our soul and consider it to be a treasure.

We'll destroy what confines our thought — our houses, our ball-game fields, our youth houses, our song halls. The streets will be deserted. And we will lock ourselves in our homes. At the moment, we don't know for how long — until our new sun comes out.

Little fathers and mothers will take it upon themselves to teach, the father to his sons, and the mother to her daughters. And their children will guide and teach their children, as it has been in the past until today, this our dear Anauak, the refuge and protection of our des-

tiny, and also our respect and our behavior that our ancestors received.

Today we order our children that they don't forget to inform their own children how they shall be reunited! How they will rise and gain strength! How our race will bring about its great destiny!

New fire signifies renovation, and to overcome. During its celebration, one unburdens the generations, considering that the Old People have already given all that they could and had. And the young with the knowledge of their fathers, plus those who have acquired knowledge by themselves during their own existence, are capable of more reason and effectiveness in the entire fulfilment of existence.

New fire means restoration, renovation, overcoming. The whole of the latter was directed by the high Mexica philosophical principles. Human beings come to the world with the aim of finding perfection by means of personal overcoming, and perfection will be reached when man is capable of creating all that he is capable of thinking. Having taken in the above, the signatories below celebrate the New Fire.

We reaffirm that it will never be lost, it will never be forgotten, what they came to do, what they came to establish in paintings, their renown, their history will always be guarded by their sons.

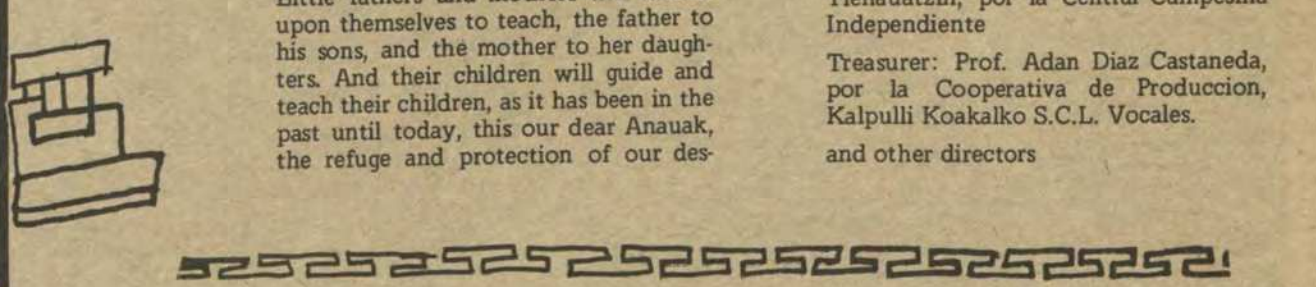
Council of the New Fire:

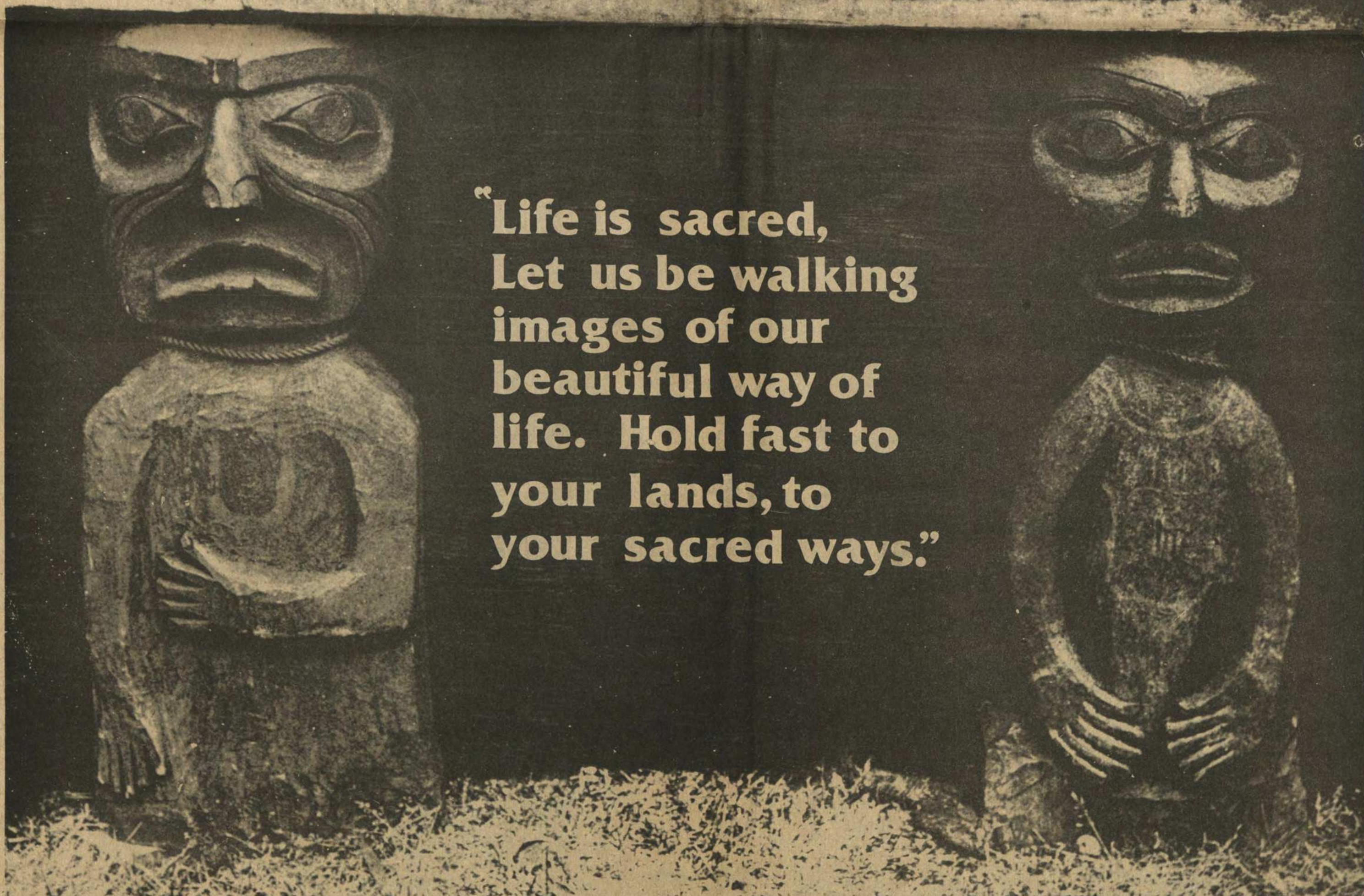
President: Tlakaheel Jimenez, por el Movimiento Confederado Restaurador de la Cultura de Anauak.

Secretario: Prof. Francisco Velazquez Tlenauatzin, por la Central Campesina Independiente

Treasurer: Prof. Adan Diaz Castaneda, por la Cooperativa de Produccion, Kalpulli Koakalko S.C.L. Vocales.

and other directors



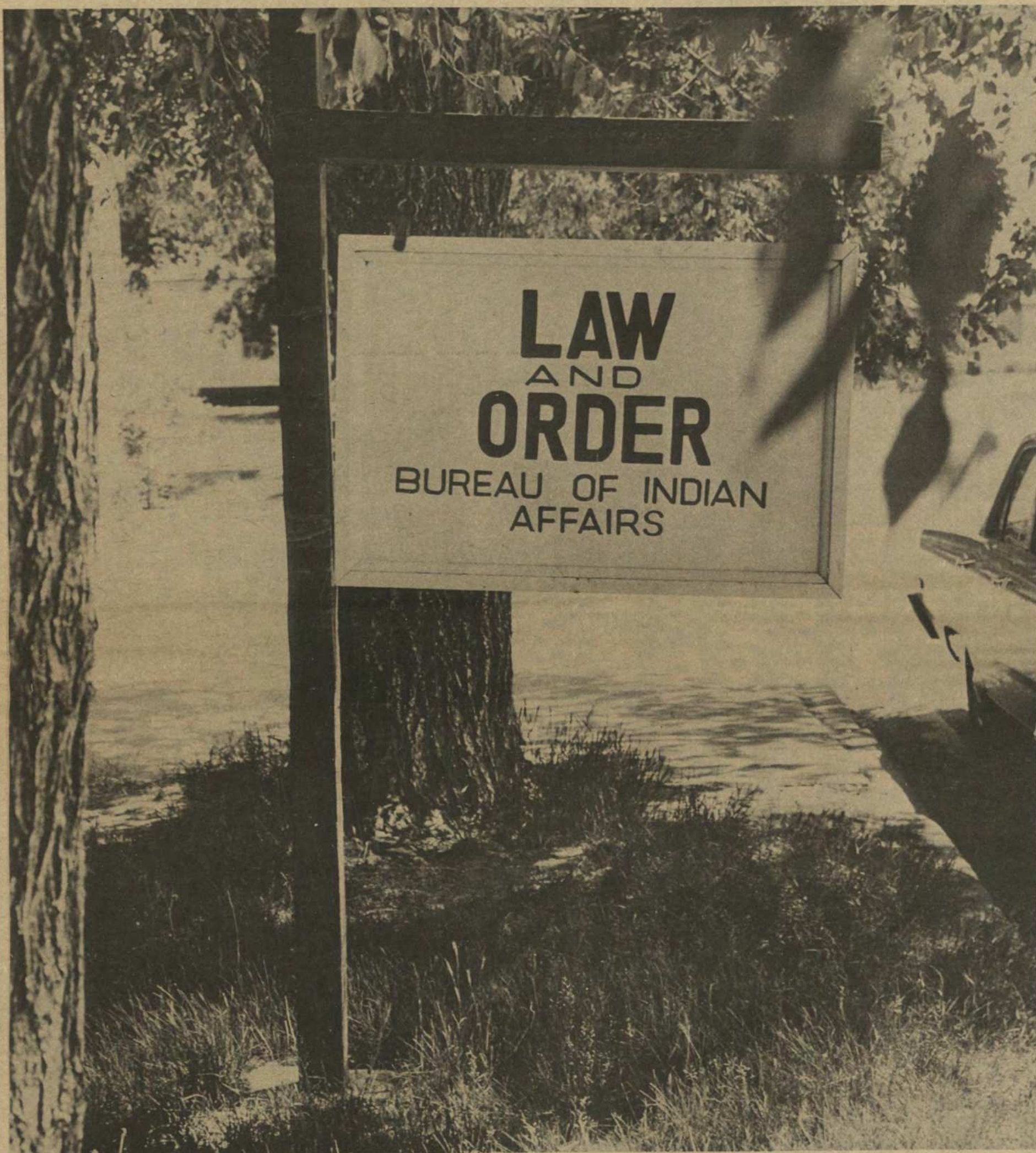


**"Life is sacred,
Let us be walking
images of our
beautiful way of
life. Hold fast to
your lands, to
your sacred ways."**

This poster was designed by Clayton Brascoupe. The quotation is from Shirley Hill Witt & Stan Steiner's anthology, "The Way". The photograph is entitled Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter, a Kwakiutl photograph by Edward S. Curtis taken in 1914, as published in "The North American Indians", an Aperture Book. This is one of a series of 30 posters published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The posters are available reprinted on heavy poster paper of various colors at 50 cents each, or 3 for \$1, plus 25 cents for a mailing tube. Orders can be for all of one kind, or mixed. Wholesale rates are also available. To order, write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

Task Force On Tribal Government

OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION
WHOSE REPORTS ARE TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS SOON



[The Task Force on Tribal Government consisted of Alan Parker, a Chippewa-Cree; Jerry Flute, Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux. Michael Cox, a Creek attorney, was the specialist assigned to the Task Force, and Dr. Patricia Zell, a Navajo, was its staff member.]

The Tribal Government Task Force final report identifies recommendations for change in Federal law and policy which would protect and strengthen the most basic of the rights of native nations: the right of self-government. However, it falls short of the ideals of sovereignty expressed, for instance, by the International Indian Treaty Council, or the Iroquois Confederacy, by seeing that sovereignty within the United States system of government. It sees the sovereignty of native nations more akin to that of a state of the U.S., rather than that of a country foreign to the U.S.

"At the outset, the Task Force wishes to emphasize the political-legal definition of Indian tribes and nations as sovereign entities," the final report states. Recognizing native nations as governments was "the most far-reaching consideration and problem" the Task Force

confronted, it said, and this "most fundamental issue of Federal law and policy cuts across all aspects of the Federal-Indian relationship and is the key to the resolution of the most serious problems, conflicts, and inconsistencies in Federal law and policy" which confronts all native nation governments.

One of the difficulties involved is that often, present tribal governments organized under the Indian Reorganization Act, are the very groups who take the most limited view of tribal sovereignty, a built-in bias which was not evident as the Task Force conducted hearings with tribal councils. However, once hearing of the problems those councils were experiencing, the Task Force conducted its own analysis. Six major problem areas were identified.

I. Indian Tribal Governments and The Department of Interior

Existing Federal law and policy create problems which boil down to a conflict of interest of the Interior Department. On the one hand, Interior and Bureau of

Indian Affairs officials are not doing their job in protecting the trust status of native peoples, and on the other hand Federal law and policy continues to support a supervisory role for federal officials which refuses to acknowledge that native nations are independent self-governing political entities within the Federal system." The report says that Tribal Governments are simply not true governments.

Interior and his agents continue to possess and exercise authority to veto virtually all forms of tribal governmental action."

II. Indian Tribes as Governments: Problems in the Exercise of Self-Governing Authorities

The Task Force analyzed the nature and extent of governmental responsibility possessed by native nations within the U.S. system, and identified statutory obstacles to the efficient and logical exercise of self-governing powers.

III. Responsibility to Provide Support For the Functions of Tribal Government

The Task Force found that the most basic reason why Indian tribal governments are not functioning at a level of maximum effectiveness is "simply because Indian tribes do not have adequate resources to support the operations of tribal government."

Traditional peoples will have some difficulty with this part of the report, since most traditional governments operate totally independently of the United States in order to maintain their sovereignty, and because often when tribal governments have received support, such as Dick Wilson received at Pine Ridge, it is used to suppress movements for sovereignty, rather than enhancing them.

IV. Status of Tribal Governments and Federal Domestic Assistance Programs

The Task Force examined the variety of domestic assistance programs administered by the various Federal agencies to locate obstacles such as eligibility or program requirements which prevented the participation of tribal governments.

Basically, in summing up these first four sections of its report, the Task Force "feels that it cannot emphasize strongly enough the conviction that Indian tribes ought to be uniformly treated under Federal law and policy as independent political units within the Federal system."

"Although the potential to exercise national sovereignty was clearly limited when the United States Government was established, internal sovereignty or the right of self-government has never been limited or abrogated under Federal law and policy," the Task Force states. "Except for the dark days of termination, the United States Government has consistently recognized the rights of self-government on the part of Indian tribes." While this has been the operating principle of the Federal-Indian relationship, in actual practice, "serious inconsistencies and conflicts with this basic Federal policy continue to exist and have gone unaddressed by the Congress for too long."

V. Land Consolidation and Acquisition

"Indians have experienced that without a land base, their chances for survival as a unique tribal entity are, at best, slim," the Task Force final report states. Perhaps the most difficult problem within the category of land consolidation is that of "fractionated heriship interests in Indian trust allotments." Although Congress has recognized the problem of the law in this regard, and has considered nine legislative proposals over the past twenty years, none has ever become law.

VI. Special Problems of Small Tribes

83% of all "Federally-recognized tribes" have populations of less than 1,000 members. Not only does this create unique problems of government and relationship, but Federal programs using a population formula in the distribution of funds forget that "such formulas have no relation to tribal needs, and clearly work to the disadvantage of the greatest number of tribes."

Alaska

The Task Force considered the impact of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement so unique and complex that a special joint report of three task forces was completed.

Historical Documentation of the Status of Indian Tribal Governments

"Historically the paternalistic authority that was exercised in the past by BIA officials over tribal government," the final report says. "Relying on the 'guardian-ward theory', Federal officials have exercised heavy handed control over Indian tribes and in effect supervised the day-to-day operation of government in a manner that can be accurately compared to a colonialistic system."

The Task Force noted that there had been an evolution in this relationship over the past twenty years, with the BIA moving into a "service agency", with a great variation in the relationship from nation to nation. But the threat of that final authority remains, and the Task Force received testimony calling for a change in the law "which would define clear limits to the Interior Department and BIA officials' authority to supervise, disapprove, or veto tribal governmental actions."

Often, the BIA is able to exercise controls simply because the controls are there — they need not actually be used. For instance, authority exists in Title 25 of the U.S. Code for the Secretary of Interior to condemn tribal lands of non-IRA tribes without tribal consent for the purposes of establishing rights-of-way, power lines, etc. However, the BIA rarely exercises this authority. Yet the fact that the law remains on the books means is hanging over the heads of tribal decision-makers.

Ironically, one source of authority for federal paternalism is the Indian Reorganization Act and its tribal constitutions. In the late 1930s, a great many native nations adopted written constitutions following extensive advice by Interior Department officials. The model used contained language granting authority to the Secretary of Interior to approve or disapprove a wide variety of tribal government actions. Then, appropriate individuals were found to push the consti-

tutions through for ratification, and presto — the legal charade that tribal sovereignty had been officially delegated to the Interior Department.

The Task Force believes that the blame for this situation today lies with the tribes, since "it is clear that the tribes are not required under Federal law to submit their governments to this broad range of supervisory control." Thus, "it remains a matter of tribal initiative whether to allow Secretarial review and approval of tribal action through their constitution or to change their law to be completely free" of such supervision.

Certain Interior Department authority would remain, however, in the exercising of "trust authority." However, the Task Force recommends that an amendment to the Indian Reorganization Act is necessary to restrict the authority of the Secretary of Interior.

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act was passed to amend various allotment statutes to bring an end to the disastrous allotment policies. In sections 16 and 17 of the Act, in an effort to strengthen tribal governments, Congress expressly recognized the right of native peoples to organize governments by adopting constitutions which "shall also vest any such tribe or its tribal council the following rights and powers: to employ legal counsel; to prevent the sale, disposition, lease or encumbrance of tribal lands, interest in lands, or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe, and to negotiate with the Federal, state, and local governments."

Since these rights are inherent, actually, in the sovereignty of native nations, traditional governments have objected to organizing under the IRA, saying that they are organized under the Creator and nothing else is necessary. Their existence, they say, is not for Congress of another nation to authorize.

The Task Force says that Congress is simply recognizing this fact — that even before the IRA was passed, tribes were already recognized as having the power to adopt constitutions and bylaws if they should so choose.

"The legislative history of the IRA makes it clear that the Administration, in introducing this law, definitely viewed it as a means of eventual assimilation of Indian tribes into the dominant society," the Task Force report says. Testimony by Administration witnesses anticipated that native peoples, upon becoming accustomed to living under governments which were parallel to those of Anglo society, would then gradually cease to have any desire to live as separately-constituted societies. "It goes without saying that the Task Force views this policy as being completely in conflict" with the policy it favors — the recognition of "a permanent right of independent political autonomous existence on the part of Indian tribes."

The Task Force charted out precise changes in Federal law which Congress must make to implement its recommendations.



The Task Force attempted to distinguish several important areas whereby tribal governments can be distinguished from non-Indian units of local government. "We found that each tribe has retained, in varying degrees, traditional, cultural, and religious societal practices which influence the manner and form in which the tribal government is operated."

"It is the conclusion of the Tribal Government Task Force that it is the continuing responsibility of the Federal Government to recognize one of the basic rights of Indian tribes — the right to define the nature and structure of the tribal government," the report says. Despite the fact that this elementary right has been repeatedly recognized in Federal law, "nevertheless the Task Force has identified a tendency on the part of Congress and the Executive Branch of government to expect Indian tribes to act in precisely the same manner as non-Indian governmental systems."

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION FINAL TASK FORCE REPORTS

One aspect of the right of native peoples to define their own governments, is the right to establish standards for membership, a right now often assumed by Washington through a system of "blood quantum."

One of the hottest problems today is the exercise of tribal government jurisdiction over non-members, and over non-tribal lands within the boundaries of Indian reservations. In fact, various non-Indian pressure groups residing on or near western reservations, have organized a national pressure group for the "express purpose of securing legislation by Congress to abrogate tribal governmental authority over them." As a reply to these efforts, the Task Force documented the historical right of self-government which has been firmly embedded in Federal-Indian relationships.

"In its first definitive statement on the question of Federal-Indian relations, in the landmark case of *Worcester v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court articulated the most basic theory of Federal-Indian law — that Indian tribes are 'distinct, independent, political communities possessing and exercising powers of self-government derived solely from their original sovereignty.' This enduring principle has never been overruled by Congressional statute or Federal court decision, and as recently as June 14, 1976, was reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Bryan v. Itasca County, Minnesota*, striking down an attempted exercise of taxing power by the state," the Task Force said.

Effect of Prior Termination Policy on Indian Tribal Views

"The brief indulgence of Congress in the Termination Policy of the early 1950s has permanently affected the outlook and mentality of tribal leaders across the country," the Task Force concluded. When its consultants interviewed tribal leaders, they found that "it is a widely shared opinion in Indian Country that contracting may eventually lead to a termination of the Federal trust responsibility." Indian leaders believe — perhaps correctly — that if they successfully contract all possible available programs, Congress will view this as sufficient proof that there is no longer need for a special Federal-Indian relationship.

"While the Declaration of Policy to the Indian Self-Determination Act expressly disclaims any intention on the part of Congress to use the Act to affect Federal trust responsibility," the final report states, "this disclaimer does not convince Indian people that this Congressional intent will be ongoing. It is their understanding that each session of Congress is not bound by the policies set and defined by the previous Congressional session."

Another fear is "backdoor termination", meaning that after the relationship of native people to the U.S. becomes one of contractee and contractor, then Congress just has to fail to appropriate monies to fulfill the contracts, and the relationship ends. "It is very difficult to convince someone with this point of view that contracting is only an optional device to allow tribes to participate in the delivery of services to their members, and constitutes an opportunity for tribes to build up their own capabilities and internal expertise," the Task Force notes.

However, it also notes that tribal concerns are "well-grounded," pointing to numerous occasions where one session of Congress has decided "to completely repudiate a policy vigorously affirmed by the preceding Congressional session." Also, it says, Congress has the power to terminate the trust relationship — in fact, with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, Congress exercised that power by expressly revoking all reservations in Alaska with the exception of the Annette Island Reserve.

Termination is not exactly a dead issue, in fact. The Task Force reports "it is being urged by non-Indian pressure groups and state officials on bills such as the Indian Law Enforcement Improvement Act of 1975, and the proposed amendment to Public Law 280."

Analysis of the 'Plenary Nature' of Congressional Authority Over Indian Tribes

While the U.S. Supreme Court has acknowledged the sovereignty of native nations, it also has clearly stated that in the area of how the U.S. related to native people, the authority of Congress is 'plenary', or without constraints. That has been proven when the U.S. Congress has passed legislation abrogating treaties previously negotiated with native nations. The Supreme Court has said that treaties are not equal to the Constitution, but are like ordinary statutes. The Constitution does not define any limits to the power of Congress over Indian affairs, but contains only a general affirmation of Congressional power to "regulate commerce" with native nations and to enter into treaties with them, and implicitly, removing this power from the states, which could do so before they entered into Union.

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION FINAL TASK FORCE REPORTS

[The Task Force on Federal, State and Tribal Jurisdiction was composed of Sherwin Broadhead, Matthew Calac of the Rincon Band of Mission Indians, and Judge William Roy Rhodes, Pima Nation. Paul Alexander was Special Task Force Counsel, and Donald R. Wharton, Specialist.]

The application of European law to native nations is a complex question, as even the idea of "sovereignty" is a western European idea. But it is clear that European nations first approached the nations of North America as one nation to another. "Sovereignty has become the starting point for any discussions or decisions with respect to Indian tribes and nations, and the jurisdiction they possess over people and property," the Task Force says in beginning its report.

With sovereignty, comes jurisdiction, or power over persons and property, in European thought. For native people, that jurisdiction over their own nations, lands and peoples has been seriously eroded. However, the Task Force elected to keep the discussion within the "system," following "those rules of construction utilized by the U.S. Supreme Court," even though it is the system itself which has been a principle cause of the erosion of sovereignty.

The Task Force on Jurisdiction held 28 days of hearings and heard some 250 witnesses, compiling 4500 pages of testimony and 3000 pages of exhibits.

The Task Force recognized some of its limitations. It noted, for instance, that "it was and presumably still would be Constitutionally 'legal' to remove by legislation all Indian tribes from Georgia to Oklahoma." Existing case law is not Indian case law, but the law of the "other side in the controversies concerning non-Indians and Indians."

Issues in Public Law 280 States

In the 1950s, the Congress wasn't into moving native peoples to Oklahoma — it simply wanted to end all Federal relations with native nations, through the ominous process of "Termination". Part of that was Public Law 280.

By Termination, the U.S. Congress meant it wanted to make "Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship." This was to be done at the "earliest possible time".

The Task Force notes that while at first glance this resolution "would seem to fit within traditional American notions of equality and fair play, and many non-Indian citizens would no doubt perceive the language as pro-Indian, Indian people have most often taken quite different views." Native people see Termination as destroying what is left of their nationality, depriving them of their status as nation-states, and "enforcing them to assimilate individually into the larger social-political society."

Native people loyal to their nations perceive the relationship between their nation and the United States of America as one between equal sovereigns, based on treaty and negotiation.

Another major congressional action of the period was a broad-ranging mandatory and permissive transfer of federal jurisdiction and responsibility in Indian affairs to state governments, known as Public Law 280. For California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon and Wisconsin, native people were given no choice — the states assumed jurisdiction. For other states, if the states wished to assume jurisdiction, they could. Only three areas were excluded from state controls: taxing and alienating of trust property and jurisdiction over treaty-recognized hunting, fishing, or trapping rights.

As originally passed, PL280 required neither consent nor consultation with the native people involved. Some fifteen years later, as the pendulum swung once more toward "self-determination", the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 amended PL280 to require tribal consent before any state assumed jurisdiction.

The Federal Role in Jurisdiction

At the time of the confederacy of the thirteen colonies into the "United States of America", there was a controversy between the State of Georgia and the "General Government". The issue was over the extent of Georgia's territorial claims, and whether it or the central government would control relations with the native landholders.

The necessity for unity among the colonies caused them to imitate the provisions of the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, in which foreign relations and territorial claims lie with the Confederacy. Thus, the colonies agreed to delegate control of "Indian affairs" to the national government, and instituted this in their Constitution of the U.S.A.

Although Georgia agreed to this, it later continued to assert jurisdiction, leading to the case of *Worcester v. Georgia*, in which Chief Justice John Marshall declared, "[The Constitution] confers on Congress the powers of making treaties, and of regulating commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the several Indian tribes."

There have been at least two justifications which were used by the European nations, and thus later by the United States of America, for claiming title of land held by native nations. One justification is "discovery", and the other is the policy "of converting 'savage heathens' to Christianity which European nations viewed as giving them superior rights to control the land and its people," the Task Force said. "This 'conversion' or 'missionary' theory carried with it the inherent notion of guardian-ward relationship."

Within the U.S. legal system, then, the U.S. Congress believes that still today it has the right to unilaterally abrogate treaties and to assume the jurisdiction of the United States of America over native nations.

Although initially, the states governed themselves within their boundaries, and the native peoples

Federal, State and Tribal Jurisdiction

governed themselves, and the federal government was small and limited in its powers, eventually native people came into increasing conflict with non-Indians who wanted to encroach on native soil. The U.S. Congress felt the need to exercise jurisdiction over such clashes, and enacted the General Crimes Act, now codified as 18USC §1152.

That statute, which was conceived as the U.S. exercising concurrent jurisdiction with native nations, specifically reserves to the native nations the right to judge conflicts among their own people, as well as the right to pre-empt federal jurisdiction by punishing an offender belonging to their own nation according to the laws of their nation, no matter what the offense or against whom. Also, treaty-guaranteed jurisdictions were reaffirmed.



— American Indian Press Association News Service photo
Rogers C.B. Morton, as Secretary of Interior, and Crow delegation: Greeting The Great White Father

In 1871, when Crow Dog killed Spotted Tail, a Lakota chief who had been supportive of U.S. interests, he was brought before a U.S. court for trial and was convicted of murder. The U.S. Supreme Court reversed that decision, ruling that the U.S. courts lacked jurisdiction over him. The U.S. Congress was outraged, and in 1885, passed the "Major Crimes Act" asserting jurisdiction over seven types of crimes, which have now expanded to 14 types. The U.S. still exercises jurisdiction over any native person in "Indian Country" who commits one of these specified crimes.

U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. McBratney* that the state had jurisdiction over offenses committed by one non-Indian against another non-Indian in Indian country. Then the "Assimilative

Crimes Act" made the laws of the state applicable to "federal enclaves", including reservations, where there is no specific federal statute covering the situation.

The Task Force says that PL280 was based on several assumptions: "the assimilation of Indian People into the mainstream of American life; the removal of an oppressive and paternalistic BIA bureaucracy, and the provision of adequate law-enforcement services to non-Indians and Indians in reservation areas." There are other motives as well: "Others who take a more historical and perhaps economic view of the Federal Government's relationship to Indian nations have asserted that the primary motivation — whether acknowledged or not — was the desire for Indian land," the report states.

"Cultural elitism" is behind any philosophy which assumes that because native peoples are different, they are inferior, the Task Force observes. Generally, the assimilation philosophy assumes that "trust responsibility of the United States runs to individual Indians, as opposed to the tribes," it said. "Most arguments, therefore, are in terms of how termination can better the lot of individuals with little or no reference to the tribal relationship."

Dissatisfaction with the BIA was strong at the time PL280 was passed. Felix Cohen, although opposed to PL280, had made a blistering attack against the BIA. The noted attorney on Indian matters also observed that although the BIA periodically supports termination, each such attempt is followed by huge increases in the BIA's budget and staffing pattern. "In other words, the Bureau seems to have manipulated termination into a mechanism to insure its continued bureaucratic survival," the Task Force concluded.

The volume of cases — many of them still pending — over disputes concerning PL280 is substantial and very complicated.

Law Enforcement by the States

In 1885, a U.S. Supreme Court Justice noted that states are often the "deadliest enemies" of the native Peoples. That viewpoint is almost universal amongst native people yet today. That means that when native people have to turn to the states surrounding their lands for law enforcement, they are turning to a "deadly enemy".

State law enforcement officials frequently do not respond, particularly if the problem involves Indians against Indians, or if an Indian is the victim of a non-Indian. However, they seem to respond with great vigor when an Indian is accused of doing wrong to a non-Indian, however slight the wrong.

The result is disproportionate arrest and sentencing practices — not to mention extreme brutality or even officialized slayings. This sort of thing isn't limited to PL280 states, however — it's just that PL280 provides "increased access to Indian persons to the various components of a state's justice system," the Task Force observed. Extensive field investigations and hearings were held on this theme during the 1960s by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee, chaired by Senator Sam Ervin. In addition, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

has, on several occasions, pointed to significant problems of discriminatory treatment of native people by state and local justice officials.

Marvin Sargent of the White Earth Reservation of the Anishnawbeg Nation told the Task Force that the problem was "basically the community attitudes, county attorneys, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, the attitude that they carry around on the reservation, you know, that it's open season on Indians at any time. . . We have a very difficult time getting any fair treatment in court systems."

A Pitt River man, Walter Lara, told the Task Force of several incidents where his people had been killed and the accused non-Indian perpetrators were not prosecuted or convicted.

The case study of the Colville Reservation, consisting of 1.3-million acres in the area surrounded by north-central Washington State, is revealing. Within its boundaries are five distinct predominately non-Indian communities and two counties. In 1965, to eliminate jurisdiction problems, and because of termination pressure from the BIA superintendent, the Colville Business Council requested the State of Washington to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction pursuant to PL280. To help out with the financial burden, since there is no Federal assistance to states assuming jurisdiction, the Colvilles donated a fully-equipped patrol car, a jail, and \$100,000 annually to the counties.

After six years of problems, the Colvilles concluded that law enforcement had become sporadic, uncertain, of diminishing quality, and with ever-increasing instances of discriminatory and prejudicial treatment of Colville People. "The county law enforcement officials have been shown to be financially, socially, culturally and psychologically unprepared to deal with and recognize Indian problems and consequently have been unwilling and unable to provide for adequate and equitable maintenance of law and order on the Colville Indian Reservation," the report states.

In September, 1975, the Colville Confederated Tribes asserted their jurisdiction and are now providing law enforcement services, although it costs them \$300,000 annually to do so.

Non-Indians vary in their views on the issue — on one side are those who have economic interests on or near reservations "who are extremely vocal in opposing any removal of state jurisdiction," the report says. At its root, this objection is based on the non-Indian fear of native people exercising some control over the behavior and economic interests of non-Indians on the reservations.

Anee Flicker, editor of the Nebraska weekly *Walthill Citizen*, submitted a statement to a Senate hearing on PL280, arguing that if Nebraska gave up its jurisdiction over the Sioux, Winnebago and Omaha reservations, it would be "violating our rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Specifically, you [Congress] will be recognizing a sovereign Nation within the confines of the continental United States, the very heart of this great country, and in the Bicentennial Year at that."

Walthill is in Thurston County, Nebraska, with a population of 5,024 non-Indians and 1,918 native people. However, Walthill is totally encompassed by either the Winnebago or Omaha Reservations, and the non-Indian population has land assessed at \$80,000,000. Naturally, Walthill citizens are excluded from participation in tribal government.

In Montana, non-Indian interests have organized into a group known as "Montanans Opposed to Discrimination" [MOD]. Non-Indian interests have moved onto the reservation in such a degree that 83% of the population and a half-billion dollars of land and commercial holdings are non-Indian.

Such groups generally come off as the Indian's best friend — and yet attack with every means possible whatever is left of native sovereignty, jurisdiction and control. The president of MOD, R.H. Lambeth, has said, "I submit that the time for responsibility of citizenship by the Indian people as well as the enjoyment of all of the prerogatives is long-past due. . . Until the Indian citizen assumes the responsibility of citizenship [in U.S. society], until all [U.S.] law in any community applies to its people, the Indian citizens who are intelligent and capable cannot achieve the level of pride and dignity they deserve."

Such termination talk is accompanied by observations that non-Indians will take up arms if they have to submit to the jurisdiction of native people on native lands. "It would engender a situation that would make Wounded Knee look like a baseball game," said F.L. Ingraham, a non-Indian, at a South Dakota hearing.

Some non-Indian property owners on lands within Indian jurisdiction say that they or their ancestors purchased such lands under the assumption that reservations would soon be terminated. Others bought without having any idea what jurisdiction existed, or that their buying Indian lands also extinguished Indian jurisdiction.

Others who oppose Indian jurisdiction believe that native people will not respect the environment, and will be irresponsible in the exercise of their jurisdiction. There is the firm belief that if there is to be

one agency having jurisdiction over both native and non-native peoples, that a non-native agency can best do that job.

A few native groups, especially small ones with little land, and whose members are well-assimilated into the U.S. mainstream, do not generally have any interest in assuming control of their law enforcement, and are quite content to let the states do the job.

The Movement to Revoke PL280

There is a growing opposition to PL280 as more and more reservations are realizing that the experiment has worked to their disadvantage.

One problem under attack is that PL280 provides states with the appearance of power, although the legal reality of that power is a fantasy. That has meant that time and time again, native peoples have had to go into the courts to protect their interests against illegal state grabs. Although, usually after an appeal, the native interests affirm their rights, it is only a short time before another case emerges, and it's back to the courts again.

The Agua Caliente Band has had to fight off the City of Palm Springs concerning jurisdiction over zoning and land-use controls, consuming a half-million dollars of legal expenses. The Colvilles expend approximately \$100,000 a year in legal fees protecting their interests from intrusion by the State of Washington. When California native people won a decision in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, their opponent, San Diego County, notified all reservations that the case would be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in the meantime, the country would still apply its various land-use regulations on reservations.

The editors of AKWESASNE NOTES feel that while it is important for its readers to understand the position of the Task Force on "Federal, State and Tribal Jurisdiction", since it could be the basis for the policies of the United States of America toward native nations for the next fifty years, it is important also to point out ways in which the report tends to diverge from the direction which AKWESASNE NOTES has covered and supported.

The basis for the sovereignty of the nations of North America is not the legislation of the U.S. Congress, or the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court, but on principles of International Law. Even the U.S. seems to have lost track of the fact that English Common Law, which provides part of the foundation for U.S. law, recognized that native nations have their own separate distinct laws, customs and traditions. These laws, customs and traditions have been handed down since "time immemorial", and that are separate and distinct from one natural nation to another — Iroquois law need not resemble Navajo law, for instance. Especially, these laws of natural North American nations are separate and distinct from the European-based laws of the United States of America.

The laws, customs, and traditions of a natural nation of North America is the law, custom and tradition which is intended to exist on the territory of that nation. That is the definition of sovereignty. Whenever the law of that nation is eroded — especially because of the usurpation of power by another nation as powerful as the U.S. — sovereignty is eroded also. This is why Public Law 280 is objectionable — it is an attempt to replace the laws, customs and traditions emanating from the sovereignty of a native North American nation with European laws and statutes emanating from the sovereignty of the several states. PL280 attempts, in a way which is probably unconstitutional even by U.S. law, to undermine the definition of sovereignty upon which the laws governing relations among nations are based — one sovereign power relating to another sovereign power.

The behavior of the States of Oregon and Washington in trying to undercut native fishing interests was so pervasive and insistent, that finally, the courts had to assume federal supervision of the entire issue. In the meantime, native groups faced with such harassment are unable to pursue planning for the future welfare of their peoples.

A bill introduced by Senator James Abourezk, S2010, would permit retrocession of jurisdiction to native peoples, and major support of tribal councils has coalesced behind the bill.

There are few resources to aid native peoples who wish to assume the jurisdiction over their lands and peoples within the U.S. system and its legal complexities. The money to purchase such services is often not available, or are needed for other priorities of the people. Often private resources, such as public interest legal services, are over-extended, or limited to providing other types of services. Federal legal assistance is equally without staff and resources assigned to this work.

Generally, the philosophy of the BIA is to oppose native people having jurisdiction, and thus its role in preparation, planning, and transition back to native controls is "at best, negligible," the Task Force said.

"We are not able to provide anything [in the line of legal help]," Jerome Tomhave, superintendent of the Riverside, California, BIA Agency, told the Task Force.

All in all, the Task Force found, "state assumption of jurisdiction has not resulted in integration of Indian people into dominant culture; not provided substantial non-discriminatory services to Indian people; and has not cured oppressive BIA involvement in the viability of Indian tribes."

The Task Force recommended that if native groups want to reassume jurisdiction, they should have the option to do so over an immediate or long-term time period, and that financial assistance should be available to help them do so. The Secretary of Interior would be mandated to approve of such retrocessions if suitable standards for adequate tribal planning were met, and his decision would be subject to appeal to a U.S. court.

"Once partial or complete retrocession is accomplished," the Task Force recommended, "the Federal

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION FINAL TASK FORCE REPORTS

Government should be under a mandatory obligation to defend tribal jurisdiction assertions whenever any reasonable argument can be made in support of them."

The Major Crimes Act

The action of the U.S. Congress in 1885 to extend federal jurisdiction over specific crimes "is generally interpreted to have eliminated tribal jurisdiction over those offenses," the Task Force reported. However, "neither a literal reading of the statute nor its legislative history support such a conclusion." It felt that this conclusion has never been legally tested.

One problem which has arisen, especially during the administration of Dick Wilson at Pine Ridge following Wounded Knee, has been the fact that the U.S. Attorney declined to prosecute many cases brought before him. Theoretically, at least, such offenses could have been prosecuted in tribal court — although that too was Wilson-controlled.

"In fact, the whole federal court system is so foreign to reservation life and expectations," the Task Force said, that "Indian cases" are difficult to prosecute and "as a result, Indian cases are shied away from," the report says.

"Eighty percent of all Indian cases presented are declined by the U.S. Attorney's office," the Task Force reported, noting that "such a figure is inconsistent with the special responsibility U.S. Attorneys have for Indian cases. Many U.S. Attorneys and their deputies do not understand this responsibility."

A year ago, the legal ability of native people to assume jurisdiction was successfully tested by John Trudell, national American Indian Movement co-chairman, in the Duck Valley Reservation, although later reactionary forces worked together to regain control by causing the tribal government and court to be reconstituted.

Another way of regaining jurisdiction is the practice followed on the Gila River Reservation, which notifies non-Indians entering Gila River lands that they are subject to the jurisdiction of the Gila River courts.



"The role of federal law enforcement agencies has, in some cases, been outrageous," the Task Force said. "Even more frightening consequences are the actions taken by federal officers on the reservation against its inhabitants," it noted, and it added to its report the entirety of an intra-office memo of the United States Commission on Civil Rights of the Pine Ridge situation when it was occupied by federal agents after two agents were killed.

The Task Force recommended that "at the very least, there should be a recognition of concurrent jurisdiction under the General Crimes Act."

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION FINAL TASK FORCE REPORTS

[The Task Force on Trust Responsibilities, Federal Indian Relations and Treaty Review was chaired by Hank Adams, with John Echohawk and Doug Nash. Kevin Gover was the specialist assigned.]

The Task Force on Trust Responsibilities, Federal Indian Relations, and Treaty Review concluded that the "national trusteeship for Indian People cannot be satisfied under the present system within the Interior Department, and creation of a new independent agency is recommended."

The special trust responsibilities the U.S. has "is not one of governance and plenary control over Indian existence," the Task Force reported, "but was to be and is yet one of protection against injuries and losses to the Indian people, and one of material and economic assistance to the tribes as a matter of mutual advantage and advancement."

From its formative stages and until recently, relationships between the U.S. and its colonial and European predecessors, with the nations of North America, were "founded upon a mutuality of rights and a mutuality of interests, common to all mankind and to all the world's nations," the Task Force noted as a basic understanding for the U.S. to use. "Indian treaties should not now be changed except through negotiations" and with consent of the nations involved.

U.S. policy should foster commitments designed to restore native peoples to a level of viable economic independence, the report said was another basic principle.

Another important principle was that "where justice and equity allows a restoration of losses secured by the use of frauds or deceptive treaties, or treaties which gave effect only to the gains of the United States, national consideration should be given toward making concessions to restoring the original conditions."

Among its recommendations was the creation of a Department of Indian Affairs as an independent agency of the United States Government. The new department should have the name "Department of Indian Relations and Community Reconstruction" and would have a full-time Board of Indian Control, consisting of ten native persons, appointed by the President of the U.S. from lists of nominations submitted by various native American constituencies.



The Sells, Arizona, High School and a Papago home at Sells: U.S. policy provides development of Western institutions, little for the people

Such a Department would have a Commission on Indian Education, an Indian Health Administration, and a National Indian Housing and Community Facilities Construction and Credit Authority. Another part of the department would be a Natural Resources Management and Development Fund which would have a billion-dollar account. There would also be an Office of Trust Responsibilities and Treaties Administration, which would also house an Indian Legal Services Fund. This office would be empowered to bring suits against other executive agencies of the U.S. Government, as well as private parties and state governments.

The proposed Department would have a general budget in the realm of \$2-billion for each of the first five years of operation.

The Task Force said that in a hearing it held in Albuquerque, testimony was received regarding the intrusion of organized crime figures into economic development projects and speculative property sales in New Mexico and Arizona. It said it wasn't surprising considering that "a disorganized BIA refused to investigate such matters, but acted in aid of the faulty deals."

In another area of the Pacific Northwest, the so-called "Greek Mafia" has approached a number of native peoples in order to establish themselves with Indian fronts in the conduct of a variety of gambling, racing, and other potentially illicit activities on Indian reserva-

tions. A business operation in trespass on Puyallup tribal lands has publicly declared its intent to add prostitution to its gambling operations — and the U.S. Attorney and BIA have refused to eject it.

The Task Force put a high priority on land acquisition. "It would be worthy of the nation to attempt to restore the Black Hills to the Lakota at the earliest possible time," the report said. "Similarly, it would be worthy of the U.S. Park Service and the Mormon community of Moccasin to plan conveyance of its lands to the Kaibab Paiutes."

Land Claims Attorneys were also scrutinized by the Task Force. One law firm alone has been paid \$15,026,343 in legal fees, and there is more yet to come. "When its final cases are won, the law firm will have received more from the Claims cases than the U.S. has sought to pay the Lakota for its greatest loss within the Great Sioux Reservation of 1868," it said. The Task Force charged that several firms had hired an Indian to solicit business for them. He filed suit later saying the combined law firms had promised to pay him \$10-million, and he settled out of court. However, the U.S. Government did not investigate the irregularity.

Trust Responsibilities, Federal Indian Relations and Treaty Review

The Task Force said the current concepts of jurisdiction of native peoples over their lands and nations bears little resemblance to the way it was originally conceived. Native nations are "vested with the right of determining who may be admitted, and of deciding whether or not any alien person may possess or own lands or other permanent properties within its dominion boundaries. Similarly, persons admitted to a sovereign territory enter being subject to all the jurisdictional laws within the territory."

"Among the first few hundred treaties, distinct lines of separate Indian and non-Indian territorial jurisdiction are maintained," the report notes. The first Federal laws under the U.S. Constitution "made no pretense of asserting jurisdiction" over native peoples. As the U.S. added new territories to its general domain, its laws

second, we need a directive from the area director; third, we do not have sufficient time, money, or experienced employees to provide everything you have requested." The official said that after all clearances had been obtained, he might be able to furnish "limited, inaccurate statistics". The requests had been simple enough: an enrollment listing of tribal members, and a listing of owners and acreages of all allotted lands.

The superintendent said that while the Aberdeen Area Office had people working on titles on the reservation for the last 17 years, it had been able to provide the agency with information on only 24% of title owner-ships.

Indians: Obstacles to BuRec Projects

The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of Interior has almost always viewed the Indians and their rights as obstacles in the path of reclamation projects bringing "progress" into the "wilderness".

Those Indian water rights have been made secure through U.S. Supreme Court decisions as far back as,

1908. But in 1922, the Colorado River Compact of western states, plus the 1949 Upper Colorado River Basin Compact, allocated all the water in the Colorado River without regards to Indian water rights. The nations which have sovereign water rights acknowledged by the U.S. are the Navajo, Jicarilla Apache in New Mexico, and the Southern Utes and Ute Mountain Utes in Colorado.

In the Southwest, where water is measured in droplets, the use of water is essential for any economic venture, the Task Force notes. The pattern though, is to talk about how projects are going to help the Indians, and then to neglect the Indians after construction. The Central Arizona Project [CAP] is one example, as politicians and bureaucrats sacrificed Indian water rights at the expense of the energy shortage. "The



— AKWESASNE NOTES photos by John C. Awald

provided that Indian lands would remain excluded from the new territories and the states formed within them.

The Task Force also did some sharp statistical work to attack the notion that federal funding of native peoples is a drain on the national budget. In fact, it found that some states receive more "welfare" than do native peoples. For instance, Idaho, with a population of 713,000 persons, received \$1.1-billion in 1975 in federal aid, or \$1,600 per capita. However, its per capita tax payments to the U.S. Government were only \$1,236. Or Montana, with a population of 694,000, received \$1,677 in federal dollars for each person in the state, but paid only \$741 per capita in federal income taxes. In other words, the U.S. gives aid to non-Indian peoples in far greater degree than to Indian peoples.

Or take the U.S. funds supplied to California, Arizona, New Mexico and Washington. Subtract from it the amount these states contributed in taxes to the U.S. Treasury. The difference is \$15-billion, or enough to cover the total "Indian aid" for ten years.

The Task Force did not always have an easy time prying out the information it requested. When it wrote the BIA superintendent of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Agency, it received a reply from J. Kenneth Adams, acting in that post, saying that "first, we need the written permission from the Sisseton-Wahpeton Tribe;

Secretary of the Interior, as trustee to Indian tribes, has failed continuously in fulfilling his trust responsibility and obligations to the Indian tribes," a special Task Force report states.

In 1877, the Desert Land Act gave a tremendous push to the settlement of the Colorado River Basin area, and promoted economic development through irrigation projects. The 1902 Federal Reclamation Act provided funds for construction of irrigation territories to promote homesteading. And then in 1921, the U.S. Congress authorized Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming to divvy up the water among themselves, even though the owners of much of that water — the native nations — were not involved in the sharing.

The State of Arizona, among others, has suggested that Indians be treated as "any other state citizen" contrary to Indian interests. If Arizona had its way, only 8½% of the Central Arizona Project water would go to native peoples, or an average of 68,000 acre/feet annually. The Bureau of Reclamation is willing to give up 20% of CAP agricultural water, for an average of 160,000 acre/feet a year — but native people calculate

the share they have the right to receive is 445,000 acre/feet a year.

The Special Situation of Oklahoma

Oklahoma is the native territory of six peoples. But since the United States started using Oklahoma as a collection center for native peoples to create a lily-white America, over 60 nations have been relocated there. And although relocation of nations has ceased, Oklahoma today remains the state with the greatest number of native people.

From the time native peoples were removed from the East until the Civil War, nations carried on their governmental functions. But in the Civil War, some nations joined the Confederacy, others supported the Union. After the Civil War, the U.S. took out its revenge on those who supported the South by declaring their treaties null and void, and demanded renegotiation.

Then came the time of the Allotment Act, which dissolved many of the nations. Only 29 peoples remain in Oklahoma today.

When nations were moved from the East and other areas, the lands they received in Oklahoma were received in exchange, and sovereignty was not at stake. For instance, in the 1828 Cherokee Treaty, the Cherokee Nation was guaranteed that its lands "shall, under the most solemn promise of the United States, be, and remain, theirs forever — a home that shall never, in all future time, be embarrassed by having extended around it the lines, or placed over it the jurisdiction of a territory or state, nor be pressed upon by the extension, in any way, of any of the limits of any existing territory or state."

According to the U.S., the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma were terminated in 1908. As the Task Force notes, these peoples were those "who had come to structure themselves after the government of the United States, tribes which dealt so faithfully with the United States, and were dealt with so unfaithfully in return; the tribes which built model societies in a new home in spite of the devastation of the removal, only to have this society crushed by their trustee."

But in western Oklahoma, the Kiowa, Apache, Tonkawa, Comanche and Shawnee had stayed as independent as possible of U.S. control. It almost seems that nations which elect to exploit their rights as sovereign nations within the U.S. system are the ones most vulnerable to having those rights extinguished. Thus today, the western Oklahoma nations have the most powers, including the rights of taxation, civil and criminal jurisdiction.

But when Oklahoma became a state, it took most Indian land as a dowry. Tribally-owned lands are nearly non-existent in the state today, and what trust lands there are, are individually allotted.

While the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act specifically authorized the Secretary of the Interior to buy lands for the use of the native nations, not one single acre of non-trust land has been put in tribal ownership under the provisions of the act. Not one cent has been appropriated for that purpose — nor has the Secretary of Interior, as trustee, ever requested such money.

"The land base of the Oklahoma tribes continues to erode," the Task Force states. "Allottees are forced to sell land because of economic need, and the tribes do not have the money to buy land. Condemnation of Indian land appears to be a favorite pastime of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers. Annexing Indian lands by municipalities in the State of Oklahoma is not uncommon."

When tribal governments do acquire land, they hold it like any citizen of the state, reduced to paying taxes to local and state governments. Although the Secretary of Interior could prevent this by placing the lands in trust, he refuses to do so unless Congress mandates. At the present time, there are only 19,220 acres of trust lands in Western Oklahoma — or an average of .4 acres per tribal member.

There are constant battles over whether native nations have control over water and hunting and fishing, or whether the State of Oklahoma now has that authority.

In these conflicts, the U.S. Government is supposed to exercise its trust and support native interests. However, the BIA is so confused, it doesn't even know what trusts it has. When one official was asked what the boundaries were for one nation, he replied, "This is an interesting question, because we can't seem to find the legitimate document that this was based on. No one seems to have knowledge of where it was at. So, we don't know — there is nothing for us to compare it by. We don't know where it is. A lot of people ask where the original document was and we can't find it."

As a result, non-Indian landowners often move their fence lines onto Indian lands, and when complaints are made to the BIA, no action is taken.

The issue of tribal membership is one of the most heated and divisive problems in Oklahoma, the Task Force says, particularly in the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osage Nation. Sometimes the Department of Interior has ordered persons placed on membership

rolls, even though it is clear that the right to define membership is an inherent right of any sovereign.

Persons who are descendants of any person on the membership rolls closed by the Dawes Commission in 1907 are considered to be tribal members, meaning that now there are members who are of 1/32 "Indian blood", meaning that they have an Indian great-great-great grandparent. That means few of these people are members of the tribal community, and thus are making decisions about the distribution of tribal assets which do not affect their lives, but can have a dramatic affect on others. All judgment monies and per capita payments must include these people, keeping a large portion of monies from the native people who need them the most.

Another problem in eastern Oklahoma involves freedmen bands established after the Civil War by the treaties immediately following the conflict. Some of these people are culturally "Indian", others are not — but all are considered to have the rights of tribal membership by the federal government.

"When the Self-determination Act first came up, I had the privilege of being with Mr. Morton [Secretary of Interior]. He asked me about this Act, and I made this statement: 'I was happy. I was so happy when you said that you would let us make decisions down here. I was grateful. It was like that you sent me a million dollars and said, 'Use this as you see best fit for your people.' I thought the day had come that we would be able to set our own budget. So I took the million dollars and counted it. It took me quite a while to count a million dollars and all the dreams that I had seen before my eyes. And finally, the day, the minute had arrived that I got to the last bill. There was exactly one-million dollars. It was given to us to use 'as we saw fit.' That is what they said. But yet right underneath the last bill, there was a little piece of paper that said, 'This is how you do it.' It's a crying shame."

— Levi Stevens
in testimony before AIRPC Task Force hearing

The "Self-Determination Act"

The Task Force found many problems with the implementation of the new Self-Determination Act. "To put it bluntly, the Act is simply not living up to its advance billing. Restrictive regulations, inadequate funding and lack of technical assistance cause self-determination to be just so much rhetoric," the report said.



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Michelle Vignes
Chiefs of the Onondaga Nation, Iroquois Confederacy: For Them, the United States is a Foreign Nation

BIA employees have told tribal leaders that the Act is "termination legislation" and termination is what many nations fear most. "Such tactics obviously discourage implementation of the Act in its original scope and spirit," the Task Force commented.



"I submit that it has been the intent of Indian policy in this government to keep the Indian people in poverty, poor health, ignorance and a state of dependence on the bureaucrat for his direction in order to foster the well-being of the agencies and civil servants charged with the responsibility of assisting the native American

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION FINAL TASK FORCE REPORTS

people of the United States," a native man, Blake Hibbard, told the Task Force.

Several groups charge the BIA with failing to enforce lease terms against non-Indians. In fact, there is the common belief that BIA personnel are "on the take" and have approved leases to friends and relatives.

Even though criticisms were spoken of privately, "there was an air of some type of reluctance to go on the record with strong language against the Bureau for fear of reprisal," the Task Force noted. One tribal chairman said he would not testify if BIA officials were present. Edwin Tanyan, principal chief of the Seminole Nation, prefaced his testimony with a request for a guarantee that no reprisals from the BIA would come about because of his testimony.

While native people are supposed to depend on the Department of Interior to protect their interests, one witness, Glen Moore, said that "the work of the Department of Interior's Office of the Solicitor has ranged from sloppy and slightly harmful to premeditated attacks on tribal sovereignty and property which are prompted by departmental conflicts of interests." That view was shared by 13 of the 14 tribal leaders testifying.

Problems with the State of Oklahoma

The policy of the U.S. — not the law — has allowed the State of Oklahoma to exercise powers which have adversely affected Indian tribes and Indian lives, the Task Force found. "This constitutes an absolute failure of the U.S. to fulfill its responsibility to Indian people," it said.

The state has allowed federal program monies to aid native people be lost or stymied. The state requires that an Indian receiving welfare payments sell all but 40 acres of trust land. Johnson-O'Malley funds channeled through the state have been subject to tremendous misuse and abuse. State claims to water rights with no regard to Indian prior rights has deprived tribes of a major source of income. State law enforcement officials have failed to protect Indian property and Indian lives.

The Task Force said the Federal Government had to assume trust responsibilities, because the State of

Oklahoma cannot be expected to "because to do so would deprive the state of sources of revenue." It said that testimony indicated "that Oklahoma will take from the tribes, but gives little in return."

Because most reservations in Oklahoma were "abolished", tribes are ineligible for certain monies which are available to reservation peoples. However, the classification of "non-reservation" is questionable legally. As Levi Stevens told the Task Force, "In one place it says reservation. Great. They are helped. Add a little dash and non-reservation and you are dead — it is words that we are fighting against now."

The Task Force recommended a special Congressional commission to check out the complex legal question of native peoples in Oklahoma. "By rights, there should be no State of Oklahoma. But there is. And it is the responsibility of the U.S. to insure that the existence of this state does not lead to the death of the people who gave so much."

Where the strong trees grow

by José Barreiro



[Two years ago, *White Roots of Peace/ AKWESASNE NOTES* was in Guatemala working to develop understanding and unity and mutual aid with the native people of that land. Guatemala is an Indian nation, with millions of indigenous people. When a disastrous earthquake shook the land on February 4, 1976, *AKWESASNE NOTES* immediately began to organize an expedition to bring aid to our stricken brothers and sisters. That trip took place in June, 1976, and this is a continuation from the last issue of *NOTES* of an account of that experience. The Editors]

THE FIRST DAY'S WALK

Anias walked back and forth, a big Mohawk packbasket at his back. "Whoa-up!" he yelled. "Let's go!"

Ron Romero squatted with his back against a box of carpentry tools, adjusting a strap over his shoulders and around his chest. Carlos and Kai steadied him. He jerked himself upright, lost his footing, steadied himself. "There..." he smiled.

Susie was braiding someone's hair. "I have to hurry," she said. "Get my blankets together."

"Is that all the medicines?" Beth said. Hank was holding a large cloth bag. He nodded.

I filled my canteen at the plaza faucet. The sun's rays were coming at us, even with the horizon.

"Whoa-up!" Anias said.

"Are you ready, brothers?" Rarihokwats said. He also had a large Mohawk basket at his back. People stood firmly under the weight of their packs. Rodolfo adjusted a strap to his forehead. The strap was attached to a rectangular box of seeds. "Muy bien," he said. "Ya."

"All right," Rarihokwats said, taking the lead. "Let's move."

It was a caravan of thirty, making our way out of San Jose Poaquil. People looked at us through half-open doors. Some kids waved. We took the dirt road. At the edge of the pueblo, a man and his pack donkey crossed us. "Good morning!" he said. "Where are you going toward?"

"Parashaj," someone said, telling the name of the distant village agreed upon the previous day as most in need of assistance from our earthquake relief project. No roads led to it, and the relief agencies had ignored its existence.

The man who greeted us whistled some air at the name: "Parashaj". "Oh, it's very far away," he said.

It was downhill from the edge of the pueblo. Then we crossed a stream, and the road climbed. There were long wide bends. There were big rocks and some potholes and at places, a thin blanket of slippery gravel.

Anias held the water drum. He had long sinewy legs and seemed to walk effortlessly. Half-way up the first mountain, he tapped the drum. We were strung out

along the road, and every so often, the drum sounded. It was a methodical tap, evenly spaced.

In just under an hour, we passed through Saquitacaj, the first village. The men were walking out to the fields, hoes thrown over their shoulders.

"Good morning," they said.

"Good morning," we said.

Inside some of the houses you could hear the clapping sound of the women making tortillas. The kids would wave at us and then hide shyly. Out on the road just past Saquitacaj, we crossed another stream. Two women were washing clothes against the rocks. They looked up as we crossed. Anias tapped the water drum. The women pointed. We were already climbing away from them when they chose to wave.

It was mid-morning. The sun was spraying its warmth over the fields. The road was dusty. Up and down our caravan you could see people re-adjusting their shoulder straps, bending down to tighten their sandals and shoes. I remember the back of Danny's shirt, clinging with sweat.

There were valleys and the far-off hills, a few singing birds. Julito walked with me for a while. He wore a round straw hat and stripped shirt and pants, the clothing of his village, and he carried a large cloth bag with a strap across his chest. We were of similar height, and in time, negotiated a mutually-agreeable pace, finding our place within the caravan. Way out in front, in the lead, were the three Iroquois — Danny, Rarihokwats, Anias. Dorothy Red walked with them, as did Chomo, a Jacalteco from western Guatemala. Then came the three Chicanos — Carlos, Ron and Debby. Carlos wore a Mohawk head-dress borrowed from Rarihokwats. Julito and I walked behind them and behind us, Margarita and Rodolfo, two Azteca traditional dancers, were joined by Angel, a Puertoriqueno from New York. There were behind them: Francis

There was a white man inside, a blond American. He braked abruptly and sat silently, reviewing our group.

"Who are you?" he said in a voice that expected an answer.

We told him. "And you?" someone asked.

"I work with missions," he said.

He was sort of glum. Julito looked away. The man nodded at us. He put his empty truck into gear and drove on. "Evangelista," Julito said in my ear, disdainfully.

We continued to climb. There was for a while that feeling that your legs were going to lock-up and then you couldn't feel them anymore. Just before Hacienda Maria, there was a steep, gravelly hill, and I remember holding my gut and climbing. Nobody was talking anymore. The groups had shifted several times and the stragglers had dropped from sight.

At the top of the hill, the lead group stopped, laid down their loads. One by one and by twos, the rest of us came and dropped down. Anias and Red-Headed Don went exploring and brought back some oranges — delicious, juicy oranges. When the last straggler had come in, the lead group moved on.

Around a bend and down a hill was the school-house at Hacienda Maria, and the teacher's hut. They were in a little valley, and it was a sort of aerial view at first — many kids running and jumping and the teacher trying to give directions, and a couple of goats tied up.

Everything stopped and we trooped into the grounds. The teacher stepped out and bade us welcome. It took a half-hour for the main part of the group to converge, and once again, the stragglers would come up behind.

The teacher's name was Ernestina, a dignified-looking woman of about thirty years. She offered us a basket of fruit and made us coffee. Parrashaj was several more kilometers, she said, and pointed the way. We were to leave our

leaves of banana trees, and there was sugar cane growing along the sides and you could see the faces climbing steadily and they were framed in green.

Don Lucio smiled constantly. He had buck-teeth and a quick frame. He guided us past a pure, cool stream that had been opened by the earthquake. We drank and cooled our heads and drank again. Don Lucio pointed to the source with his whole hand and then made a passing motion, as if directing the stream. The water came down the mountain and it formed into pools that got filled and fed into another and another, like a stairway. "A gift of the earthquake," Don Lucio said.

An hour later, we saw Parrashaj. We came to it from above. The hill was very steep, and the gravity pulled your legs so that they wanted to run. Lucio led us down through a cornfield in a winding motion, like the trail of a snake.

It wasn't quite noon yet. Most of the men were still in the surrounding fields. We stretched our legs under a big avocado tree, next to the old school-house, which had been reduced to rubble by the earthquake. The teacher, a very young man in his early twenties, was out and smiling. A couple of young men were out too. There was a canefield nearby and soon they had pulled some from our group and together they brought back a stack of cane.

We chewed on the cane and waited. The cane contains a juice, called *guarapo*. It is released as you chew it and it replenishes. In other villages closer to the main pueblo, the people would warmly serve us bottled soft drinks, as a special "company treat", although we would have preferred the nutritious and more economical fruits and juices.

On the other side of the makeshift new school, the women of Parrashaj were cooking. Some of our women went over to help. The men were coming in and the pace of the women quickened slightly. Our group had converged under the



from Kansas City, Bruce from Antioch, Susie from Boston, Kai, Wilkie, "Mr. Adobe", Beth and Hank, Jerry and Tom, Preston-who-was-leaving-early-for-the-Sundance, Marty-who-knew-herbs, and Red-headed Don from "no-particular-place".

We climbed; we descended. Here and there Julito pointed out a house with no roof, or a dusty site where an earthquake-tumbled house had been cleared away. I followed his finger to distant hillsides which had cracked and pitted into sandy patches that were now beginning to erode.

Once, we heard the sound of an engine, and cleared the road just in time for a white pick-up truck to turn the corner into our midst.

packs with her, go on to Parrashaj for the lunch meeting, and then return to her village for dinner. "The people of Hacienda Maria will be ready to receive you then," she said.

We walked on. The path was deceptive. Along the way we stopped to ask directions of a man working his field, and he offered to guide us. Don Lucio was his name.

One thing: the deeper and more removed the country we walked through, the more beautiful. I remember one part where the path swooped down and across a stream, and then up again another hill so that from the first high point you could see people climbing up the second hill. They would be partially hidden by the big green

avocado tree, and the men went directly there. They formed a second group, and there was conversation and overlap.

Two of the village leaders introduced themselves. They bade us welcome. One of them pointed to the men behind him. "As you can see," he said, "there is much interest in listening to your words, and we also would like to speak of how things are here."

Rarihokwats was standing. He accepted the man's greeting. The two groups came a little closer. The teacher stood up. "Probably we could commence," he said, "as the lunch will be a while and there is much to discuss."

Everyone nodded. Margarita took position next to Rarihokwats to trans-

late his words into Spanish and the teacher volunteered to speak it further in Cakchiquel.

Rarihokwats held the White Roots of Peace beaded belt in his hands. He stooped forward a little, staring downward.

"I have much to say," he said, "and I'd like to ask you to be patient as I find the words to express myself.

"First, I would like to give thanks to the Creator for the sun which has warmed our backs on this day, for the earth which is our mother and which gives us food, for the water which has quenched our thirst, for our safe journey here so we could meet with you, our brothers and sisters.

"It was a year and a half ago that some of our people, including some of the older ones, travelled through this land. They made many friends, and they came to understand that here was a land with people very much like our own ancestors — people living close to the earth, people strong in their traditions, their clothing, their language, their religion, and so, bonds were established.

"Just as in the beginning of Time the Creator placed upon these mountains you, the Cakchiquel People, and gave you your tongue and your dress and your traditions and your original instructions, so too the Creator placed other Peoples throughout this world and they too were given their language and dress and traditions and their original instructions. But where the native People of this country called Guatemala are a majority on your lands and thus strong in numbers, our People to the North, who once lived upon the Plains and the Mountains and the Forests and the Coastal areas, are now scattered throughout the continent in small tracts of land called "reserves". These lands are like islands in a vast sea of Western technological society that surrounds us on all sides, and is still constantly attempting to move into more and more of our land.

"When last February we learned through the newspaper and our friends here of the tragedy that had befallen you, our relatives, it was decided that we should offer our help. Our Old Ones tell us that we are all one family, and our instructions are to help one another, particularly in times of need. So we immediately set about the task of finding out how we could best help. We asked friends here to search among those people who still held to their language and traditions, and to tell us of who needed our help the most. We were told of Poaquil.

"We knew we wanted to help, but we didn't know how, because by comparison to other groups in the U.S. and Canada, we are the poorest. Many of our people have problems of their own, and could not help. Others have become too separated from their ways to any longer recognize you as their relatives, or their obligation to help others.

"But we have many friends, and some offered themselves. As you will see by looking at our group, not all are indigena. But even those who are not are committed to a natural way of life, and to finding their way back to their original instructions. We have journeyed for 7,000 kilometers, travelling nine days and nights, often sleeping by the side of the road for just a few hours, so we could be here to share with you this moment of crisis and to offer whatever assistance we can.

"We are organized into three groups: an agricultural group, a construction group, and a health group.

"Because we are also indigenous people, and we have those who come to help us in their own ways which are not good for us, we would ask you now to consult among yourselves to determine your most pressing needs in which we can be of assistance. After you have done so, we will see where we can offer help — and so a mutually agreeable plan can be reached.

"Always, we want to be working under your direction.

"Thank you for your patience. I will now sit down to wait for your reply."

Margarita finished translating this last section into Spanish, and then the teacher turned it into Cakchiquel. When they were done, they sat down.

"One of the leaders stood up. He was thin and bare-foot, and had a wrinkled face. "Before we talk among ourselves," he said, "I want to thank you for your visit, which is the first visit we've received since the earthquake. I greet you as brothers, not as strangers."

Rarihokwats stood. Margarita and the teacher stood. "This is not our last trip," Rarihokwats said. "Between friends and family, we should not forget each other." He pointed at some children playing. "Our commitment will last for a generation," he said. "Until these children now playing around us are grown to be men and women, we are committed to working with you."



The men began their discussion. We sat off to the side. They spoke in Cakchiquel. One spoke at a time — slowly. The others listened. All the speakers stood and stepped out and projected to the whole group. The women came around them, and two of them spoke. The other women knelt on the ground and sat back on their calves. They had long black braids and their hands were folded in their laps.

A list was drawn up. The teacher did this, pencil in hand, and the people's heads nodded or shook as the relative importance of their needs were analyzed. One man turned to us finally. "We are prepared," he said.

The two groups overlapped again.

"We are alone out here," the thin man with the wrinkled face spoke. "Our first need is that of a road. Everything we must transport on our backs over the long trail. A road would help our commerce and the hauling of building materials.

"Our second need is water — drinking water — to be piped to some central spot. The earthquake destroyed the old system, and we must walk much distance for it now.

"Our third need is in agriculture. We have plagues that threaten our crops, particularly the corn and beans. Also, there is the need for more orientation, a class. The men would like from your people that know agriculture some orientation today.

"Fourth, our women would like from your women more knowledge of home culture — cooking and ways to improve alimentation. Also, cleanliness."

He handed the list over to Rarihokwats. "These are our needs," he said. "Thank you."

Our group huddled. Obviously, the road was out. We didn't have the machinery and other necessary resources, and there were philosophical objections, for experience had told us that the road would bring in far more undesirable things than desirable, and would alienate the people from the many gifts of the Creation which now surrounded them.

"How about the water?" someone asked.

Ron Romero raised his hand. "I think we could do that," he said, "if we could



Paraschaj be served first, and they did the same, each inviting with their arms. Then the thin man with the wrinkled face and silent eyes gestured forcefully. "You," he said. "You start eating."

Later, as we sipped the coffee, we related the results of our discussion. Ron Romero was presented to them. He stood and nodded. A couple of men shook his hand.

Rarihokwats told of Ron's past experience and skill, that he spoke Spanish, that it was our hope he could be housed by someone in the village, and that he would contribute financially to the household that provided his food. He explained again that as we were a poor people, we didn't have materials but that we would do all we could to loosen them up from the various governments and the agencies who had lots of resources.

Individually then, we offered the customary after-eating thanksgiving, and small conversations were beginning when one of the men made stance and said, projecting: "For your member here, and for all of you, there will always be food here, and shelter." Others nodded.

Kai and Wilkie had prepared a small talk on agriculture-related problems, and about half the men crowded into the one-room schoolhouse. The teacher helped them distribute seeds of carrots and radishes and green beans, which were new there, and the men asked careful questions about their planting and nurturing. "This will add to our alimentation," one man said.

Outside, some of the young kids were studying Anias' water drum. They stood quietly around him. One of the kids reached out with his hand and touched Anias' earring. Anias pulled away, playfully. The kids giggled. Wilkie and Carlos and Danny and Kai joined him and in time, they began to sing. All the kids were around them now, and then the women came, and finally the men. Francis joined in, and myself and Julito and Ron. Rarihokwats watched from under the avocado tree.

We sang a few songs, and I remember one young boy trying to feel out our sound with his lips, his hands tapping and the kids with their eyes very wide and the men looking over each other's shoulders curiously and then it was time to go.

We marched out quickly, the way we had come. Rarihokwats was at the lead and Anias tapping and moving up the hill in a driving current, looking back to see the school and fields and the people in the courtyard waving and getting smaller and finally losing them around a bend.

Don Lucio had asked that Kai and Wilkie take a look at his field. Chomo and I joined them. A couple of hills from Hacienda Maria we dropped back and went off the path.

We walked through the rows of corn and beans. "Look here," Don Lucio pointed at a leaf. We circled him. On the leaf was a small round bug. He reached down smoothly with his hand and I remember his intent eyes and he snatched it. "Look, look," he said. "This is the one for the beans."

Kai peered at it, screwing up his eyes. Don Lucio held it up before him. The little green bug was between his thumb and forefinger. "Oh yes," Kai chuckled. "I know this little fellow." He nodded violently and made a face at it. Lucio watched him. "What do you call it?" Kai asked.

"La tortuguilla," Lucio said.

"We call him the flea beetle," Kai said.

(continued on next page)



Wilkie snapped the leaf. There were holes in it. He bunched up his fingers and gestured as if to swallow them. "Se la come," he said.

Lucio nodded. He looked them in the eye solemnly, holding up the bug. "That's the way it is," he said. Then he pointed with his open palm all around. "Many, many of them," he said. He held up his fingers and squeezed them, pulverizing the bug. "They eat half my beans," he said.

We walked to the corn. Kai and Wilkie talked. Another man had joined us now. "A little garlic and chile in some soapy water," Wilkie was saying. Kai agreed. They told it to the men. "When they attack my beans," Kai said, "I spray them with that." He pretended to run in place. "They leave for better parts."

The men laughed.

At the corn, Lucio bent to dig around the bottom of a stalk. He pulled out a white, milky worm about three inches long. "It's a cut-worm," Kai said.

"*Gallina ciega*," Lucio nodded — the blind chicken. They all dug around several stalks and found the gallina ciega every time. Everyone held an open palm with the white worm in it. "It's a plague," Wilkie said. He translated that for Lucio.

"Every year it gets worse," Lucio said.

Kai had taken a small jar from his pack. He collected samples. "This one we have to study a bit," he said.

We walked out of the field on the way back to the path. There was a spot covered with tumbled adobe. "That's my old house," Lucio said. "The shaking brought it down."

Next to it was a smaller structure, a rounded one, half-standing, but badly cracked. "What's that one?" Wilkie asked.

"That's my old Te-mazk'alli," Lucio said.

Wilkie turned to me for translation, but I too was at a loss.

"What's the Te-mescal?" I asked.

Lucio looked at us. "Where I make my steam," he said, a little impatiently. "You know, to cleanse myself."

"Steam?" Wilkie smiled widely. He turned to Kai. "Hey — this guy's got a sweat lodge!"

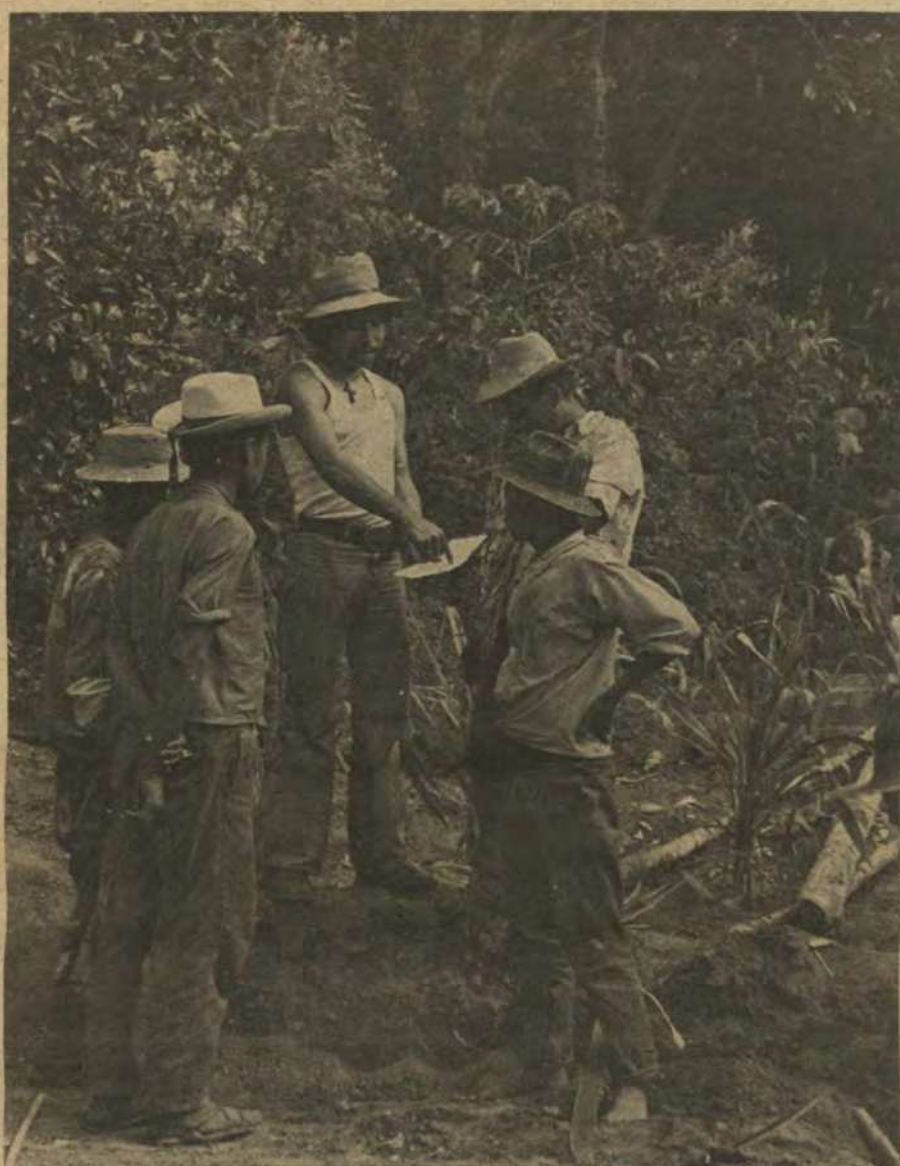
About an hour before sundown we re-entered Hacienda Maria. We got settled with our packs and sleeping bags in the dirt floor of the school.

At dusk, the people began to gather, and I have a vision of Angel and Kai playing their flutes and right behind them on the open tile floor of the destroyed old school, Danny White dribbling a ball and all the kids crowding and then trying to snatch it away, and Danny, a 15-year-old Mohawk from Akwesasne, playing with his Mayan counterparts, who were half-his-size and twice-as-quick and they immediately dubbed him "*El Gigante*" — the Giant — and kept a respectful distance when he came charging through.

It was that sort of evening. People lit candles. We were tired, and yet exhilarated. Two of our health people made contact with the local midwives, and that passed through the group. Anias built a fire and some kept warm by it, and the playing of the flutes had a way of stretching the senses so that the candle-lights and the fire and the silhouetted hills and the fact that it was dusk and many people around us moved quietly and spoke a language in soft tones that could have been any one of a hundred native tongues and the food was being brought in big pots by the shadows of men and women — it all gave this evening a silent wave-like motion — pierced occasionally by the

squealing of the kids when Danny came charging through.

We ate inside the cane-pole school — beans and tortillas and coffee and fruit. I remember the way we kept filling our plates. Those who had prepared the food looked on contentedly and they seemed to understand we were eating through the appetite of 35 walking kilometers, half-a-dozen astounding mountain views, 100 new friends and the grasping attempt (which was just turning over) to internalize the conditions of their lives and the way it all went into itself like a mirror and seeing our own reflection over and over and the meshing of analysis and projections and doubts of the next five weeks and where would it all go?



We had a meeting afterwards. Probably a third of our group had gone to rest after dinner and had fallen asleep. Those who remained sat against one wall, and the people crowded the room to face us. Several men stuck their hands up, holding candles to light the room.

The same talks and essentially the same questions of the meeting at Parashaj were brought forth. We were tired and they were more relaxed, and several times the meeting was about to conclude and one more man or woman would stand up to speak. It was late evening, and time to express oneself. The light around the candles had that out-of-focus glowing quality.

Ernestina the teacher offered some word of thanks for our effort. "Not only is your long journey and the fact that you come in brotherhood impressive," she said. "But many come that way and express themselves such, and don't end up being such brothers. We have seen you walk today as our people must do, carrying heavy loads, just as we do. You eat our food. We respect this. Don't be mistaken if we are reserved at first — that too is a natural way. In fact, though, we are touched by your manner."

Rarihokwats: "It is only fitting that if we come in brotherhood and attempting to be of use, that we live as you do. For as long as we remain in your land, we are in your hands. Although the Original Instructions are the same for every People, all people developed their own ways and customs, and that is good. Sometimes in the course of our work here, out of our ignorance for your ways, we may do things which are out

of keeping with the custom. As brothers and sisters, we expect and hope that you will be frank with us when these things happen, and teach us how to do, so that we can correct ourselves as we go along."

A man stood up and asked that we be introduced individually. We complied, and as each of us stood and was presented, there was much clapping and laughter. One very old woman came forward. She offered an embrace. She was small and wrinkled and barefoot with grey hair and her eyes were resolute. She embraced each of us down the line and her hands on your back felt withered and small, but firm. A man stepped up. He was dressed traditionally — sandals, white cotton pants, a red sash

"My question is: do you know of any cure for this?"

The people were quiet and took seats, looking toward us and feeling behind themselves blindly with their hands.

Anias stood. He held the water drum. Anias is tall and thin and he has long, black braids.

"The problem that you speak about," he said, "is one which our People in the North also face. It is a bad thing for us, this alcohol. It destroys our homes and our families. It destroys our minds. We too have searched for a cure, and have come to understand that there is no magic pill to do the job."



"For us, for the People of the North, some of whom have strayed far from our Original Instructions, the only answer is a return to our Natural Ways. We try to understand that our bodies and minds are precious gifts from the Creator, and we damage ourselves and offend the Creation every time we get drunk. Our Old People say, 'Don't drink the alcohol.' Thank you. Those are my words."

Anias sat down. Rarihokwats stood. "In our experience," he added, "the people who are best at guiding us out of this problem are the spiritual people. Unfortunately, none are accompanying us on this trip. On future trips, we intend that some will come with us again, and maybe visit your community. One thing that we have found helpful is the repeated use of our sweat-lodges, your Te-mescal, as a way of purifying ourselves physically and spiritually, and thus gain strength."

"Thank you very much," the man said. "Your words have much breath in them."

Nobody knew if it was over. It was very, very late. There was a long silence, and then we all walked out into the black, overcast night. The groups of men and women held candles aloft, and walked away down the trails. There were only half-a-dozen of us still awake. I remember having that wired feeling that is exhaustion trying to pull you back to where you should have stopped. My eyes felt hot. There is a quick, last clip in my head of Rarihokwats pulling off

holding up a multi-colored front cloth, dark blue shirt. He too held his arms open — strong arms, with veins like welts — and one by one we stepped into them to be embraced. This gave way to more embracing, and once again the meeting seemed about to break up when toward the middle of the room a man made stance and spoke.



"There is one more problem," he said, "and we share it with you because we see in you the effort to know. We have a liquid called *guaro* that our people make out of sugar cane. We drink this, and it makes us forget the problems of this life. This has become a wide-spread practice, and much too many people fall prey to its temptation."

his leather moccasins and the room full of hulky sleeping bags and the sweet-green smell of the pine-needle cushion that had been spread for us on the hard-dirt floor.

Native American Press



THE SMOKE SIGNAL
Federated Indians of California
 Marie Potts, Editor
 2727 Santa Clara Way
 Sacramento, California 95817

Welcome to our Beardance. On this kind of a day, a big-time day, everyone should be friends and get along with one another.

The land of the Notukkaya, often called the Mountain Maidu, is your land too. The name of this place is Wepamkum, which in our old language means, "coyote's smokehole." The smokehole is in the roof of our ceremonial lodge which we call a sweathouse. We named our grounds when we dedicated our sweathouse. The dancegrounds and sweathouse are sacred. If you have a healthy body and a light heart, then come and share a religious experience. Join us as friends.

We and our traditions, like the clouds and the trees about us, were born of this land. The earth is our mother and the sun is our father, Wonomi. As long as he is in the sky he hears everything we say and he sees all that we do. When Wonomi sets beyond the jagged Sierras, he prays that we may have clean hearts. So we, like the old people before us, begin this big day, the beginning of a new year, with a sun ceremony.

Our traditions tell us that years ago all the animals were people. Salmon, Fox, Deer, Bear — everything was a person. And one time, all animal-people were killers too. Just before humans came, the Worldmaker, the big man who made this world, decided to end all of that. He decided to call a big time and after that everyone who went there would be friendly. He invited all the animals and served them soda water and soda bread.

The big day came and everyone showed up. The Worldmaker went about and counted heads — "Yep, everyone here — nope, two missing. Where's Bear and that Rattlesnake? Anyone seen Bear or Rattlesnake around?" (Those two hid out in the woods.) Worldmaker got mad and chased after those two. He flattened Rattlesnake's head with a piece of soda bread and just managed to clip off Bear's tail. That's why we still have two dangerous animals in the woods: bears and rattlesnakes. Every year we have to calm them down or we are liable to get bit.

Therefore, in the northern part of the dance grounds you can see a pole with two black bear hides draped over it, and a second pole with maple bark tassels — Indian Flags — dangling from it. If you look closely, you will notice that the black bear hide has a white splotch in the sticking spot (a hard kind of bear to find). Treat the bear hide with respect. It is sacred. Never make fun of the skin, regardless of how shabby it may look. Bear will hear you, and it will go against you. We have tied pieces of wormwood on the bear to calm him down. And you may see a feather of swans-down dangling from the bear's nose. The down brings peace.

And take a second look at the flags swaying on the other pole. They look pretty much like rattlesnakes dangling

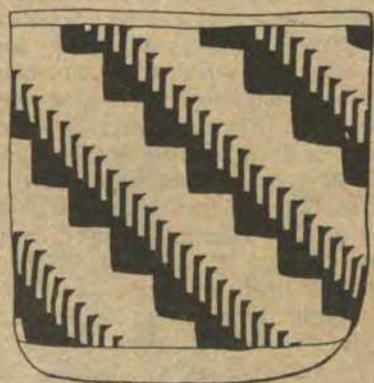
there — just shredded bark, maple-dyed with alder, but then again, rattlesnakes.

When the rising sun stains the dance ground, the old timers stand before the pole and speak whatever comes from their heart. They talk to the Spirits in the sacred lakes of the Sierras, to the Spirits in the sacred mountains shaped like sweathouses, to the Spirits in the clouds, to the Spirits of the land you stand upon; tobacco smoke swirls over the pole, over the ceremonial grounds, dissolving into the air, carrying their prayers to all parts of the world.

This is not a festival, nor is it a fish-fry. It is an Indian Beardance. We want you to take part whether it is singing, or dancing, or cooking, or merely picking up trash. For by taking a part you become a part of the ceremony. By becoming a part, you clean your heart. Just watch the old people and follow their ways. They sing, they stay up all night listening to old songs. They stay light on their feet and their heart beams peace...

We hope that many people will take part in the grass game. We play the grass game because it is a part of our religion because it is in our blood, because the spirits of our land want us to. And after the grass games and dances and songs, we have a free dinner — again because the spirits of the land want us to. It's free — but who pays for it? Well, in the old days, a fellow could go to a big hollow oak tree and sing to it. A big, hot salmon would pop out the bottom — like hitting the jackpot in Reno — but the coyote spoiled that. Then strong men had to hike to the falls or the Feather River and spear salmon — but the white man, just like coyote, with their dams and such, spoiled that. So food is pretty tough to get these days. Everybody is supposed to bring what they can to the Beardance. But lots of folks are hard up or they forget or don't know and that's all right because the Beardance is concerned about hearts rather than stomachs.

In the old days, we had many more dances. For example, we used to get food for our poor old widows by doing a begging dance. Women with burden baskets on their backs would dance through the crowd singing a begging song. If a person would not put food or tobacco or something in the basket, they would jab and poke that person with long sticks until something was given. Nowadays we do a circle dance, a friendship dance. We all hold hands and slowly people circle to the right and then circle to the left. Just watch the Old People. It's easy. Another dance we do is the standing dance. The women and some of the men too dance in one place waving a bundle of wormwood in each hand.



... After this cycle of dances is finished, better look out because here comes Old Bear, running around the dance ring... Now that bear is going after someone else. That bear needs to be calmed down. Wormwood will do the trick. Here come the children, each with a branch of wormwood — treat him with respect. Remember the bear is sacred. And that man inside the bear hide is sacred too. There they go toward the creek! Now everyone heads for the creek, throwing the wormwood in it. Now we all cleanse ourselves by washing our faces in the stream and saying prayers of thanksgiving. Wormwood swirls downstream. Some of us leave. Some of us stay to help clean the ceremonial grounds.

Then rain falls and washes away the footprints of all the strangers.

KAINAI NEWS Cardston, Alberta

Are we today the witnesses of the total eclipse of the sundance? Not only are most of the animals and birds from which we make our costumes gone, but some have their eyes on plowing up where the sacred ceremonies are held. A fine bunch of ecologists we are! Forget the traditional Indian generosity we often brag about — we need a few more dollars. True, those in the Horn Society are sincere in their efforts to revive this ancient heritage, but where are the bundles and other relics to carry out a decent ceremony?

Then of course, there are do-nothing critics who are constantly emphasizing the present society is not up to par with those of days gone by. Who will replace

them, and besides, who will teach them when all the other societies have ceased to exist? Where are the virtuous women who will once again put up the Sundance Lodge?

We cannot blame it all on the whiteman. We were the ones who sold our bundles, medicine pipes, and everything else we owned and also most generously give headdresses away each year. Let's wait for the government's next move — then we can start selling the reserves.

Who needs the Sundance? Let it die! We still have our Indian Days and Cowboy Rodeos and when those die out, we can always watch the German tribes who are doing a fantastic job recreating and imitating the Indian tribes of North America.

— Everett Soop



At the present time, most Sundance Ceremonies do not allow photographs. The above photograph was taken years ago and is in the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.

THE MUSKOGEE CRIER Oak Hill Stomp Grounds Route 7, Box 726 Tallahassee, Florida

One of the most noted phenomena accompanying a Creek assembly at the Stomp Grounds is the use of colors. One dance seems to be filled with one hue, then suddenly another dance occurs and the whole square vibrates with a different color...

Two prominent colors in Creek life are [white and red]. All Creek Towns, as well as other towns of the Muskogee Confederacy, were adjudged to be either White or Red Towns. Often these terms are rendered as peace or war towns.

White is the symbol for peace, goodwill, friendship, innocence, and purity. The white feathers of the Eagle were always exchanged in a gesture of conciliation. Upon the installation of important people or the reception of honored guests or strangers, white feathers were presented. Throughout the old Creek Confederacy, Eagle feathers carried the highest meaning and gave the bearer much protection in uncertain territories.

White plays an integral part in the Green Corn celebration, Buskita. The smoke created by the Corn and herbs placed in the New Fire is white. Ceremonial objects are often wrapped in white or red depending on their nature. Ceremonial tobacco is always kept in a white container in our town. Formerly, the tobacco pouch was of a white heron or swan skin.

Many Creek homes follow an old custom of our town and hang white feathers above the doors to indicate friendship, hospitality and reverence. On the festive day of the New Fire Ceremony, the Town Square is sprinkled with white sand and many of the dances have white symbolism quietly woven into the celebration of Thanksgiving for the first fruits of the season. The spectacular Feather Dance as performed by our Town features the use of white feathers as indicative of the deep mood and meaning of the dance.

Many of our medicinal plants and ceremonial herbs have white flowers. Mention must be made of the Lamhi, the Eagle, in connection with white. Lamhi is a bird of tremendous strength,

but a creature of peace — his red feathers are greatly outnumbered by the white feathers. The immature eagle, mostly reddish in color, is often the young men's symbol for war, but the eagle in 'old age' stands for peace. The Eagle is high in the sky, close to the Master of Breath, the Father Spirit. The Eagle is a bird of great power and prayer strength because of its closeness to the Sun, symbol of the Father Spirit. The soft, white down feathers on the Eagle breast are symbols for love.

The New Fire in the Town Square is often fanned with a white fan or with an eagle feather fan. The New Fire in the Square is like the Sun. It is a symbol of God's presence with us, yet it is more than that in a mystical manner. The connection between our dependence on the Sun and Fire is obvious. The white ashes of the New Fire are important to us as well.

The Sun brings forth the first fruits of the year, and so it is proper that we give the first fruits of our fields to the New Fire, which produces white smoke. The New Fire means new life, both physically and morally. Everything is renewed at the New Fire time just as the Summer Sun renews the Earth.

We consider it unlawful — a terrible offense — to pass between the Sun and the New Fire. This tradition determines why we always go across the Square in a certain manner, the White Path. We try not to interrupt the mystic communion between the New Fire and the Sun by passing between them.

The first dance after the New Fire is the Feather Dance with White Feathers. Our Green Corn Ceremony through fasting, Buskita, and the solemn Black Drink rite followed by the festival feast and joyful dances readily affirm the White Path for us, that all men, high or low, are born brothers.

Perhaps this brief view of Creek traditions from our Town Square will help you to understand our ways a little better and help Creeks who were not raised in old ways to understand their great heritage. "Listen always for the White Song in the Winds as you stand in the Town Square before the New Fire and the arbors' freshly painted white posts," said my grandparents to their children.



There is a growing interest these days in "American Indian Religion." It seems as if a few people are beginning to realize there is something quite false about the sensational presentations of native ceremonies in such films as *A Man Called Horse*. Some people are also beginning to question the importation of religions and spiritual teachers from other continents, when they have yet to test the ways of this land.

In fact, some people are beginning to realize there is a rich and little-known heritage of wisdom native to this continent from ancient times, and books such as *Seven Arrows* or the Don Juan tetralogy have confirmed the truth of this fact. While there is considerable controversy over the authenticity of these particular books, there is no denying they speak with some wisdom and power to a great spiritual need.

Most European and Asian and African descendants on this continent have lost touch with the traditions and spiritual strength of their People, or they are in actual rebellion against them.

There is a definite feeling that something has gone wrong. If religion is supposed to bring people peace of mind, a sense of rightness and goodness in the Universe, a sense of purpose and direction in life, a way of interacting with other creatures that is both morally sound and harmonious, and a sense of profound joy and participation in Creation, it seems that many people today are unable to find these in the faith of their fathers.

Whether their religions have failed them, or they have failed their religions is not the issue here — the fact is, many are searching for spiritual values.

Included among those who are searching are the native people of the land who were not raised within their own traditions, due to the governmental policy of assimilation and obliteration of native ways and values. They too are searching to rediscover their own spiritual heritage.

For many who have turned to the American teachings, their path began with the re-issue some fifteen years ago of the book *Black Elk Speaks*, a rendering by poet John Neihardt. That book had been preceded by *Soul of an Indian* by Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa), and has been followed by Vine Deloria's *God Is Red*.

But avid readers, attempting to find the Truth in the printed page soon exhaust every available book on the subject, and find their spiritual appetite whetted, but not satisfied. Their craving leads them to the more public ceremonies, or to visit the more-publicized medicine people. Unwanted publicity is brought to the events and people, often causing difficulties and an embarrassing and aggravated situation is created. Too often, also, one visit to Hopi Country or Crow Dog's Paradise tends to create an "expert" in Native American spiritual ways, and an instant sage is created to dispense superficial and misleading notions with authority to those who can be fooled by a costume of buckskin and beads.

For many native people, the path of rediscovery happens through political action, or gatherings to discuss the needs of the People. Since the loss of our own spiritual heritage is a question of vital importance to the identity and survival of our nations, and since for native people, political and spiritual acts are inseparable, a new respect is growing for the old ones who have kept the traditions alive.

For native people who have more than a trace of spirituality, and who meet the public, it is easy to allow seekers of the path to attribute more knowledge than their prospective guru possesses. The temptations are many. Most seekers understand that the profundity and complexity of the spiritual knowledge within any one natural American tradition is so great that the only way it can be known is to spend a lifetime working within that tradition.

And so I begin with an admission of my own limitations and ignorance right at the start. For myself, I come from a People so assimilated we have nearly lost our language and our ceremonies, and there are no more Old Ones who know these things. And so, a few of us who were taught some of these things from our grandparents, are trying to re-learn and teach each other. I have been studying the spiritual teachings for only ten years, and I have been on the Medicine Path a little over three years.

And so, although I am old enough to be a grandfather, I am still only a child. When others speak, I am silent, for I have much to learn.

Yet, there are a few things that I can say, as long as the extent of my ignorance is well understood by my listeners and myself.

Once, I was asked to speak on religion at the Harvard Divinity School. I like to speak at such places, because missionary work has a lot to do with my People being turned away from their teachings. It would just feel good to have a Wampanoag give some spiritual instruction to Harvard seminarians.

Not that I want to be a reverse missionary, or to try to convert anyone to my Ways. That is the second thing I want to say. One of the most striking differences between natural spiritual ways and the ways of the Christian churches is that we never have tried to convert anyone to our ways.

The concept of respect is basic to our teachings — we respect every individual's beliefs. To "convert" people would be to say their beliefs are not as good as ours, and this would not be respectful.

We believe the Creator gave every people Original Instructions, and that the Creator still speaks to those who seek knowledge. That means I will listen with respect to all you tell me about your religion. But if you tell me your God has told you I must follow your ways, or Jesus' ways, or Krishna's ways, I will tell you that I am able to take my Instructions directly from my Creator.

There is one compensation for my lack of spiritual instruction after childhood. Being filled with a spiritual hunger that could no longer be satisfied at home, I searched and studied other religions of the world, and learned the Beauty and Truth in each of these.

But it was the Peyote Ways that brought me back to the Land and the Ways of my own People.

I was given the Instruction to go to the Old Ones and the Medicine People in the different nations, and to learn the Inner Truth, the Universal Wisdom of their ways, so that one day I would have the understanding to help in the rebuilding of the spiritual life of my own People.

By this, I understood that by learning many different ways, I would learn what is common and essential to them all, and thus learn the basis of the spiritual teachings of my own People. So it was that I was led into the North American Indian Unity Movement, and to learn from spiritual leaders all over North America. I found that our spiritual teachers are not professional priests or schoolmasters, but are ordinary farmers, fishermen, ranchers, laborers, builders, storekeepers — people who live simply and humbly but in addition to caring for their families, they have taken the added responsibilities of upholding ancient traditions, teaching, and keeping alive the sacred knowledge of the Old Ways of the People.

The third thing that I would like you to understand about natural spiritual ways is that even if I were a very learned man, steeped in knowledge and wisdom and had the ability to write well, I could not indicate the true essence of this knowledge and wisdom. There is much that cannot be put to words. It can only be experienced directly and individually by each person.

Also, it is necessary in these days that there are things which must be kept secret so they will not be abused by those who are of insufficient understanding or impure motive.

I am told that the word "religion" originally meant "to bind together again". That would seem good, for those who are separated from their People and their People's ways, or who are separated from the Creator or from our Mother Earth or from our relatives, the other creatures and spirits of the Universe. But the Old Ones do not have such a word as religion. Perhaps that is because if one is following Original Instructions, there is no separation from one's People or from the Creation, so there is no need to "bind together again." So instead of talking of "religion" which is made by man, they talk of "spiritual teachings" which are given from the Creation itself.

Also, as used by European and Asian cultures, "religion" seems to be something separate from other subjects. There are special schools and colleges to study it, special buildings to practice it, even a day and an hour set aside for it. There are certain programs that are labelled "religious" on radio or television, a special section in the library and a page in the newspaper labelled "religion". But to natural peoples, although they may have certain places, such as a kiva or longhouse or sweat lodge, there is no separation between religion and other aspects of life. Every deed is a spiritual act, every creature, everything in the Creation is sacred and holy. Every word spoken is prayer. A people's "religion" is everything they say and do and think and feel.

For a natural People, the Creation is a part of them, and they are a part of it. The Creation is not something to be subdued and conquered, and we are not superior to it, or outside of it. The Creator is expressed by all Creation, and so to learn the Creator's ways, we study Creation. We learn from the plants and animals, from the seasons and the winds. It is hard for us in the cities, where there is an artificial environment, and plants grow in boxes, birds live in cages, and people go inside buildings with colored windows to talk to their Creator, where the stars are rarely seen, and the phases of the moon are meaningless.

Natural spiritual ways do not reject this world in favor of another world to come.

Natural spiritual ways do not separate spirit and matter. Everything is alive. Everything has consciousness. Everything has spirit. Everything is sacred.

Speaking of natural spiritual ways, Yetsi Blue says, "You do not have to be baptized or consecrated or confirmed or do anything to join it. You cannot join it — you are born into it. Everyone is born into it." There is no scripture or dogma, no church or hierarchy. And it is very ecumenical.

Beside these matters of respect for others' ways and the non-separation of spirit and matter, there is another great difference between the spiritual Instructions of natural Peoples and other ways. This difference is profound, and its consequence needs to be examined by all people. When the natural person says, "The Earth is my Mother," it is more than just a metaphor.

The Earth is understood to have a sacred spirit, a female manifestation, whose body has given life to all creatures, which are nourished and nurtured by her, sheltered and protected by her, and taught by her. Sometimes her lessons are very hard, and sometimes people must be hurt to make them stronger. We, in turn, have an obligation to care for her, to honor and respect and love her, and to help care for all of her family, our relatives everywhere.

This concept is often put down as "quaint" or "primitive". But those who have integrated this belief into their lives cannot cut up their mother in pieces and sell her, or to wrangle over bits of her for profit, or to deprive her other children of access to her, or to cheat and steal and fight and shed blood over her.

For those who have abandoned natural ways, the earth becomes "real estate", and the history of "civilization" is the history of conflict between indigenous people and invaders, a history of pollution, poverty, exploitation, war, crime, and disease. This may sound like a very sweeping, shrill, even absurd statement, but for those who have respected the earth as their Mother, this is true. Natural people, almost by definition, do not clear-cut her trees and strip-mine her hills and steal and sell her waters and enslave her other children, our own relatives, to increase our wealth. Natural people do not think of "improving" their Mother for their own gain, or see a building as an "improvement" on the land, or to see our mother in her beautiful natural condition as "land going to waste".

What of progress? Is progress more and more products and higher and higher prices, with waste and pollution and sewage and garbage? To natural people, progress is when humankind becomes wise enough to live good and plentiful lives in harmony with the Creation and with each other.

And so in order to reintegrate ourselves to our spiritual ways, it is necessary that we learn to eat natural foods instead of packaged chemicals, to learn to get along with each other without outside regulations, to care for our "wastes" and to return them to the Earth, to use our energies to work and play with mental calm and for the good of all. All of this is part of respect for the Earth, respect for the Creator, respect for Life.

Natural People honor People of Vision, those of long ago, and those living among us now. But we require no intercessor, mediator, or messenger between us and the Creation. We treasure the wisdom of the tales of our people, but the Laws and Instructions of the Creator are not written in an ancient language to be deciphered by scholars, but are inscribed in our hearts and minds. The sacred scriptures are the living testament of Nature, which each person can read for herself, every day, in the little creatures, the grasses and trees, in the growing things, in the wind and thunder and rain, in the seas and lakes and streams, the mountains and rocks and sand, in the fierce power of the sun, the magic of Grandmother Moon, the mystery of the stars. These spirits are all our teachers.

And we too have spirits, and our own spirits can teach us something from the wisdom of our hearts. The Creator has given us the knowledge of Beauty and of Love and Joy and Peace in our hearts, to be our teachers and to guide us on the Good Road.



Everywhere among our People, there is the teaching that a person may go apart from other people, into a wilderness, on a mountain or a desert, in a forest, upon the ocean, and stay alone there for a period of days to receive Instruction of the Creation.

Everywhere among our People it is known that the Creator and all Creation are a vast holy Mystery, but this Mystery may speak to our hearts if we are prepared, and if we listen.

Everywhere among our People the power of prayer is recognized to prepare our minds, and the power of fasting, the power of the sweat and other purifications to prepare our spirits and hearts to hear the voice of the Holy Mystery.

Everywhere I have been in North America, these teachings are very similar, although in language and manner the ceremonies are different. I have listened to the Old People and the Keepers of the Wisdom, the stories and prophecies of the nations, and everywhere the spirit is growing stronger and the message is clear. The time of Purification is at hand.

The way of life now prevalent on the earth has made our Mother very sick. It is a disease — and disease feeds upon a body and grows until either the body dies, or through strong action such as a fever, it throws off the disease and restores its balance and harmony. Disease is a conflict, a disharmony in the Song of the Creation. The crisis is coming — inevitably. How soon, we do not know. The symptoms are strongest where the disease of civilization is strongest, in New York, in Los Angeles, in Tokyo — but the poison is felt from James Bay to Black Mesa to the Amazon.

This destruction has all been foreseen. In the past, it may have taken a prophet, but today it can be seen by anyone of clear mind and open eyes. But the

prophecies contain a spiritual message: the Earth Mother will remember her children who cling close to her ways, who follow the Original Instructions, and they and the Earth will survive the Purification. But those who cling to the Disease of Civilization, the Disease of Conquest and Control and Exploitation and Greed will surely die of the disease, for they have grown to nurture the disease, believing it to be essential to their lives.

Our teachings tell us to purify ourselves, and to be strong in body, mind, heart and spirit, to unify our nations, and hold to the Creation's Natural Laws, that we may leave to the yet-unborn a beautiful and healthy Creation.

There are those who will agree with these thoughts, who may even gain comfort and justification by preaching them to others, or to simply feel protected by this enlightenment.

Do not be smug and contented — like the speeches of patriots on national holidays, congratulating ourselves on the spiritual values of our ancestors — values which do not, in fact, exist in our own lives and communities — will gain little for us in Purification.

Do not let our ideals make us complacent. The fact is that few of us are actually living by the Original Instructions. All of us, to some extent, contribute to the exploitation and destruction of the earth. We buy gas, oil, electricity, cars, houses, food, clothing, plastics and drugs, and we add to the waste and pollution constantly, and support with taxes and purchases governments and industries which exploit the earth and her resources, including humankind. We support the very powers that exploit us, and by that support, those powers grow stronger, and the people grow more dependent.

As we become aware of this, we need not become cynical, or feel guilty, or luxuriate in apathy. We also have the alternative of moving closer to the Good Red Road. Not all the way and all at once, but step by step in that direction, until we are back on the path.

We can cease to be consumption addicts, merchandise junkies, hooked by conditioning and advertising to want more and more — and start to withdraw, commodity by commodity, to simplify, substitute, to make and grow our own. We can start to share what we have with others. We can do for ourselves, and we can give freely of our skills and energies.

We can walk and work and become physically stronger. We can spend time with the Creation. Step by step, sure and direct.

Many people no longer have tradition to turn to. There may be no elders. But there are the teachings of nature, the vision quests, the fasting, the sweats, the observations of the earth, the growing things, the animal creatures, the voice of the winds, the rocks, the thunders — and our own hearts and minds in the quiet hours of the morning. For those who want to listen, the voices still speak.

There is something very important happening in this Creation. There is a Purification coming — and there is a movement of those who value the lives of the unborn enough to want to survive it. A vision is becoming clearer as we talk together and listen to each other, to the teachings of the Old Ones and the Voice of the Great Silence.

We have a long way to go, but walking and dancing and singing our way, we are going home at last, clearing the weeds from the Good Red Road, following the Visionpath, the Original Instructions, the Creation's Law, the Way of the Universe, the Way of the Rainbow, the Path of Beauty.

— Saupaquant



GOING HOME

THE NACIREMA CULT OF HOLY MEN: THE ANTHRO AND THE NAMDER

[Usually, AKWESASNE NOTES does not publish formal anthropological papers. Because of the importance of this paper, however, we have made an exception. It is by Steve Talbot, now at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Helsinki, Finland. The paper was presented in March, 1975, at the symposium on "Ethics, Politics, and Applied Anthropology" at the 34th annual meeting, Society for Applied Anthropology, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Since it is written primarily for the benefit of the Anthro cult of the Nacirema, it has been translated into their mystic language and is presented according to the required ritualistic patterns. The Editors.]

(ABSTRACT: A description of that dreaded and mysterious cult of holy men among the Nacirema who are called Anthros by the Namder, a subject people. Examples of cult behavior and symbolism are given, especially the relationship of the cult to Namder society and culture. It is maintained that the relationship is a parasitic one. In short, a functional analysis is given. However, there is the beginning of a revitalization movement among the Anthros, a movement which may change the parasitic function. The widespread rebellion by the Namder within Nacirema society is seen as the dominant cultural process largely responsible for Anthro revitalization.)

I bring to your attention the existence of a cult of holy men and women found among the Nacirema, that curious society described in the work of Miner (1956) and Walker (1970). Miner, in his work on Nacirema ceremonial institutions, identifies the Nacirema as:

... a North American group living in the territory between the Canadian Cree, the Yaqui and Tarahumara of Mexico, and the Carib and Arawak of the Antilles. Little is known of their origin, although tradition states that they came from the east. According to Nacirema mythology, their nation was originated by a culture hero, Notgnihaw, who is otherwise known for two great feats of strength - the throwing of a piece of wampum across the river Pa-To-Mac and the chopping down of a cherry tree in which the Spirit of Truth resided. (1956: 503)

The present report deals not so much with the magical practices of Nacirema commoners, nor with folk linguistics, as it does with a ceremonial sodality and its relationship to an enslaved ethnic population.

In the venacular, cult members are called ANTHROS. This term was coined by the Namder, a subject people whose civilization was overrun centuries ago by Nacirema barbarians.

These holy men, along with their female counterparts, dwell in ivy-encrusted temples which are easily distinguished from the simple habitations of Nacirema commoners. A special function of these ecclesiastical centers is the recruitment and enunciation of high-caste Nacirema youth into the cult Mysteries.

Cult behavior is only slightly differentiated by sex. Male cultists burn incense in a container held between the teeth, but either sex can carry sticks of incense with the lips. (See Figure 1.) With these crude burners, they bathe young novices in sacred vapors while mumbling chants and catechistic phrases.

Body hair, especially on the face, is a common practice among the males. The female cultists are not particularly marked except for the head priestess. She carries a marvelous staff of office with which she periodically strikes the ground, and by this means she is held much in awe. Both sexes carry rectangular-shaped medicine bundles. (See Figure 1.)

In the temple instruction, sacred symbols are employed, the secret meanings of which the novice must master as a part of the ANTHRO arts. These to have an erotic significance. They are often connected one to another in strange, stick-line drawings, made by applying a white substance to great tablets hung upon the temple walls. (See figure 2.)



An adult male Nacirema holyman, in typical garb, with symbols of his status

A main requirement for the novice, before taking his or her vows, is the attendance at a bush school. These are often located on Namder reserves. By this means, the novice is able to observe the Namder in his natural habitat and to practice as an apprentice Holy Man.

A Rite of Intensification

There are a number of important ceremonial rites held throughout the calendar year, but the principle one is the Annual Renewal Ceremony. On this occasion, cult members gather in one of the larger Nacirema villages where they practice casting spells on one another. This has become so popular that there are almost more spell-casters at the Annual Ceremony than there are those willing to be cast upon.

Cult members undertake ceremonial feasting, drinking, and stylized forms of behaviour at this time. No doubt the highly cloistered nature of temple life is responsible for the bacchanalian character of some of the rituals associated with the Annual Renewal Ceremony. The Ceremony also witnesses great activity among those novices who, being close to final vows, wish to secure prestigious temple positions. Their value orientation may be summed up as "Have medicine bundle, will travel!"

Occupational Specialization and its Function²

The cult is divided not only by age and sex, but principally by occupational specialty. One category of practitioners includes the BONE MEN. They are very much feared, for they have the power to raise the dead. Another group is the DIGGERS. Diggers ferret out material

remnants of Namder civilization. These remnants are then locked up in Anthro treasure houses, the chief treasure house being called SMI-SONE-EE-AN. It is located in a large Nacirema village (a place of madness) on the shores of the Eastern Sea.

But it is the SHREDS-N-PATCHES group which is the most numerous (and irritating to the Namder). Armed with an occult power, they ingeniously retrieve bits and pieces of Namder language, art, religion, history, technology, and customs. Then, through the evocation of their special power, ERUTLUK, they magically bring the pieces together into a whole. Unfortunately, the end result bears little resemblance to Namder life, past or present. By the use of mystical diagrams and a special language, understood only by cultists, the ANTHROS have maintained their sacred position as the only ones capable of discovering and interpreting the real meaning of ERUTLUK. They have thus established and continue to function in a symbiotic relationship with the ruling caste of the Nacirema, especially in the crucial realm of preventing rebellions among the subject populations. This is the central purpose of the Shreds-n-Patches specialists. Everything is then recorded in the holy books, again in the mystic language of the cult, the books being placed in temple archives. These holy books are considered as Gospel by the Nacirema, but the ANTHROS themselves must be consulted for interpretation, thus ensuring a continuous source of income and status for the cult.

Based upon this evidence, it would appear that the primary function which

the cult performs for Nacirema society, is the interpretation of Namder life, past and present, and its reconstruction in a manner favorable to Nacirema hegemony.

The Cult's Symbiotic Tendencies and the Oxpecker Function

The central tenet in ANTHRO mystic dogma, with respect to the Namder and other subject peoples, is that which is written in the holy books as ERUTLUK-EGNAHC. Cult members are assisted in the application of this dogma with respect to the Namder through an alliance with a Nacirema caste, the BEE-AYE-EH. (The BEE-AYE-EH performs the keeper function for Nacirema society in that it is put in charge of Namder reserves.) Cultists who apply the dogma, usually drawn from the Shreds-n-Patches specialists, are then called APPLE-EYED ANTHROS. (See figure 3.)

Abroad, the cult (and especially the APPLE-EYED) exercises a similar function with respect to other enslaved populations. But in the case of these overseas cultists, the symbiotic relationship is with an even more powerful Nacirema group, a warrior caste, the PEN-TA-GONE. In both instances, Nacirema institutions reward the holy man cult with lavish honor, monetary reward, and donations to temple coffers.³

These symbiotic tendencies of the cult can be compared to the oxpecker and the function which this little bird performs for the rhinoceros. Thus the Nacirema ruling elite allows the cult to feed at its table in exchange for keeping an eye on its enemies.

Another aspect of the ANTHROS' function is their remarkable ability to construct myths designed to validate Nacirema hegemony. Since cult members are believed to be guardians of the mystic entity ERUTLUK, their myths regarding the strange workings of this ubiquitous spirit are regarded as beyond question. Thus, for example, the centuries-long subjugation of the Namder and the ORGEN (another subject people) is validated by the myth of a peculiar deviant form of ERUTLUK: the so called ERUTLUK of YTREVOP which has bewitched the subject peoples, making them fit only for the most menial, degrading tasks in Nacirema Land.

Ties of Consanguinity?

It is sometimes claimed that a symbiotic relationship exists between Anthros and the Namder. Indeed, there is fragmentary evidence for a kinship link in that a typical Namder family is said to include an Anthro. Furthermore, there is linguistic evidence to suggest a common ancestor in the utterance: "grey-way-faBar". Nevertheless, this relationship is viewed as parasitic rather than as symbiotic by the Namder. The Namder rebel spokesman, DAY-LOR-EE-AH, for example, says that the Namder "have been cursed above all other people in history" - they have ANTHROS! (1969: 78).

Rebellion, Hardening of the Arteries, and Revitalization

A growing number of Namder are rejecting Nacirema hegemony. Opposition has been voiced by rebel writers like the aforementioned DAY-LOR-EE-AH. Young Namder in particular are in open rebellion, and one of their main targets is ANTHROS. Yet, paradoxically, young Namder are drawn to the Holy Man cult, especially to the treasure houses and the temple archives, because it controls the repositories of Namder heritage. They are anxious to recover their lost treasures and to make their own interpretations of Namder life. Yet,

it has been extremely difficult to infiltrate the cult — to “pass”, so to speak — without going through the ordeal known as the “ritual ablation of the cerebrum.”

The rebellion by Namder and other subject peoples has infected elements among the Nacirema themselves, including those in the Holy Man cult. Some novices, as well as a few cultists, are beginning to challenge the ceremonies, the preachments of the elders, and that written in the holy books. A subversive grouplet, found primarily among novices, is the RADS. The priestesses, too, are becoming restive in that they occupy subordinate positions to the superordinate male hierarchy of temple life.

Among the elders of the cult, there was, for a time, a secret society of heretics called the EH-THICKS. This subversive grouplet arose in response to the oxpecker activities of their fellow cultists, the APPLE-EYED ANTHROS in the Land of T-EYE. This temple revolt was quickly put down by the cult's high priesthood.

The EH-THICKS did not direct their activities towards the alleviation of the oxpeckeration of the Namder by ANTHROS in Nacirema Land itself. Nevertheless, although it is still too early to predict the final outcome of these processes, one may suggest that a revitalization movement is underway among the magic- and tradition-ridden Nacirema Holy Man cult. Clearly, a new mazeway may be the final outcome.



Notes

1. This is the plural form. The singular drops the “s”.
2. A special note of thanks is extended to Mina Caufield (Department of Anthropology, California State University at San Francisco.) Her suggestions are incorporated in this and the following section.
3. It is common practice to identify the cult by its relationship to a particular subject population through the addition of a prefix. Therefore, cultists who practice their deadly arts in the Land of T-EYE are called T-EYE APPLE-EYED ANTHROS.
4. The Namder rebellion and the disaffection in the ranks of the Nacirema itself has caused a backlash from the cultists. Chief among these is the high priest, GA-REEN-WAY, who has declared a Holy War against Nacirema deviationists. Neither are GA-REEN-WAY's pronouncements on Namder civilization a thing in which the rebellious Namder can find much satisfaction. He has authoritatively declared the original Namder were “ferocious, cruel, aggressive, stoic, violent, ultra-masculine, treacherous and warlike, though these are anemic adjectives to describe the extent of [their] Dionysiac extremism.” (1969: 224).

References Cited

- Deloria, Vine, Jr.
1969 Custer died for your sins. New York: Avon Books.
- Greenway, John
1969 “Will the Indians get Whitey?”. The National Review (3/11/69).
- Miner, Horace
1956 Body ritual among the Nacirema. American Anthropologist 58: 503-507.
- Walker, Willard
1970 The retention of folk linguistic concepts and the *tiyetr* caste in contemporary Nacireman culture. American Anthropologist 72: 102-103.



The fifth Symposium on the American Indian will be held at Northeastern Oklahoma State University April 14-15, consisting of lectures and discussions on the topic, “The American Indian: Contributions and Concerns”. For program information, contact: Billy Joe Davis, Director, Symposium on the American Indian, Division of Social Sciences, NOSU, Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464.

A director for a HUD planning program is needed to provide supervision and training of staff, coordinating reservation housing authorities, identifying needs, etc. Contact: Don LeGarde, Executive Director, Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, POBox 217, Cass Lake, Minnesota 56633 or phone 335-2286. Also needed: an assistant coordinator for the Johnson O'Malley Program, a Construction Company General Manager, Director of Social Services, Elderly Nutrition Program Project Dietician.

The Nordic Sami Council, the common organisation for the Sami (Lapp) People in Norway, Sweden and Finland, are appealing to governments and churches for money for the Second World Conference for Indigenous Peoples to be held in Sweden in 1977. The funds are needed for delegates who cannot afford travel costs. Contact: Samiraddi, Runebergink, 51 C 51 SF- 00260 Helsinki 26, Finland.

A University Minority Program Director is needed to supervise tutoring, counseling, recruiting and admissions, curriculum development, and other university programs. Starting date: June 1. Contact: Personnel Department, Willard 67, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80309.

The Shoalwater Bay Tribe of Tokeland, Washington, is pursuing an intensive search for information regarding its heritage. Anyone with printed information, pictures, artifacts, verbal recollections are asked to help. The Shoalwater People are located on Willapa Bay, about 15 miles south of Westport, Washington. Contact: Sande Vivian, Shoalwater Bay People, Tokeland, Washington 98590 or phone 267-4797.

Box 14-A and Romere D. Martin provide a year-round helping hand for Indian families in the northeast Oklahoma, southwest Missouri, and northwest Arkansas by distributing food, clothing, etc. For information, contact them at Project Box 13-A, Tiff City, Missouri 64868.

A task force is planning a National Indian Ex-Offender Project to assist local agencies and correctional departments in resolving the numerous problems encountered by Indian prisoners. For information, contact: Alan Briggs, Congress of American Indians, 1430 K St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 or phone (202) 347-9520.

SCREE Magazine is seeking material for a special Native American issue by and/or dealing with Native Americans: legends, poetry, prose, black & white art, translations, workings or whatever else. Address submissions to SCREE, Native American Issue, nila northSun, editor, POBox 761, Fallon, Nevada 89406.



contacts



The National Urban Fellows are recruiting young men and women to work with mayors, city managers, and other public officials in career training as urban administrators. The program is supported by grants. Graduates are now employed in key positions in government. Most candidates are minority folk. Contact: Luis Alvarez, Director, NUF, 246 Church St., New Haven, Connecticut 06510 or phone (203) 624-5168.

An excellent newsletter on the ways children's literature puts out demeaning stereotypes about elders — ageism — is available for \$1.75. Teachers and librarians should check it out — parents, too. Contact: Council on Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 1841 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10023.

An assistant professor in Native American Programs and Department of History is needed for next autumn by Washington State University. For information, contact: W. Willard, Chairman Search Committee, Native American Programs, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington 99164.

People compiling an anthology by women would like poems, letters, short prose pieces, diary excerpts, and art work by Indian women on the subject of sexuality as a life force, conception, gestation, childbirth, nursing, childcare, and feelings for children. Material should be mailed to Toni Ortnier-Zimmerman, Bell Hollow Road, Putnam Valley, N.Y. 10579.

A Minority Programs Consultant is wanted to coordinate the development of ethnically-related programs. Duties include locating and counseling minority fine arts students, assisting student groups to develop programs, act as a liaison between student groups and the university. For information, ocontact: M. Colleen Jones, Special Support Services, Educational Opportunities Program, 207 Calvin Hall, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242 or telephone (319) 353-7170.

The annual all-Indian art show sponsored by the Red Cloud Indian School will be held June 5 through August 14. Entries must be made before May 1. Paintings, graphics, mixed media and three dimensional works categories are listed. For information, contact Red Cloud Indian Art Show, Red Cloud Indian School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770.

The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs is putting together a resource catalog on all material available on Land Claims. This includes films, video/audio tapes, slides, books, speeches, pictures, etc. Anyone with potential listings contact: Debbie Hoggan, UBCIC, 345 West Fifth St., North Vancouver, B.C. V7M 1K2.

People interested in an American Indian Free Cultural School & Arts and Crafts Class for native people are asked to contact: Scott Cooper, 304 W. 8th Ave., 2 floor, New York, N.Y. 10001.

A lecturer in Native Education is needed soon by Trent University. For information, contact: Professor Joseph Couture, Chairman, Dept. of Native Studies, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7B8.

Michael Lee Big Water of the Pottawatomie Nation, contact Stefania Antonieczek, 01-562 Warsaw, Poland, Mickiewieza 2f-228.

Delmar Dreaming Bear, please contact Michele M.

The American Indian students at Harvard are interested in recruiting applicants to Harvard and Radcliffe. For more information, contact Leonard M. Harjo, AIH, Harvard-Radcliffe, Admission & Scholarship Office, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

The 4th Annual National Indian Activities Association Boxing Nationals will be held at the Stewart Indian School April 15-16, Stewart, Nevada. The top eleven champs will be entered in the AAU boxing nationals. For information, contact: Van Peters, Supt., Stewart Indian School, Stewart, Nevada 98437, or telephone (702) 882-3411.

An exhibition of contemporary Indian art will be on in Brantford, Ontario, at the Woodland Indian Cultural Educational Centre from May 14 - June 11. For information contact the Centre at POBox 1506, Brantford, Ontario N3T 5V6 or telephone (519) 759-2650.

The Summer Program for Minority Journalists is accepting applications for 1977's eleven-week training session, which leads directly to jobs on daily newspapers. Applications are welcome from all minorities with a strong determination to succeed. Tuition and living expenses provided. Contact: School of Journalism, University of California, 607 Evans Hall, Berkeley, California 94720.

The Recruit Committee of the Oklahoma Library Association is actively seeking young native American men and women who have an interest in the library profession. Contact: Claudette Hagle, OLA Recruitment Committee, Oklahoma State University Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074.

An excellent Manual of Indian Law with articles on Indian law, criminal jurisdiction, hunting and fishing rights, taxation, is available for attorneys, tribal leaders, and lay persons. 300 pages, available for \$40.00. Contact: American Indian Lawyer Training Program, 319 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, California 94610.

Mrs. June Paige, formerly of Ronkonkoma, please contact AKWESASNE NOTES.

Albert Francis LaRoque aka James Long please contact C. Long, 74 N. Bruns Lane, Springfield, Illinois 62702. Would like to know he is all right.

Hank Rust, get in touch with Georgia Tumblewood so Mickey McCarthy can talk with you. Contact Georgia at 4825 W. Crain, Skokie, Illinois 60076, or phone (312) 677-5571.

The Navajo Community College is having their Red Dawn Indian Club Powwow on April 1st and 2nd on the NCC campus.

A play based on the book, Black Elk Speaks will open on March 25 at the Folger Theatre in Washington, D.C. The play will run for six weeks. For information, contact Michael Sheehan at the Folger Theatre, or call (202) 547-3230.

The Philbrook Art Center has set a deadline of March 29 for the 32nd Annual American Indian Artists Exhibition which will be shown from May 8 to July 3. There is a special student category for elementary, junior and senior high school artists. All entrants are limited to three works, done in the last three years. For information, contact Indian Exhibition, Philbrook Art Center, POBox 2099, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

The Bear Tribe, a society composed of Indian and non-Indian people striving to learn and teach others of how to be in harmony with each other and the Earth Mother, formed by Sun Bear, is now established in Washington. For information, write MANY SMOKES Magazine, POBox 9167, Spokane, Washington 99209.

The Vanishing White Man by Stan Steiner, Harper & Row, N.Y. 1976. \$10.95.

Stan Steiner gave us a copy of this book, inscribing in it, "Sometimes I write books for myself. Sometimes I write books for you. This book is for you." Actually, Steiner wrote this book for all of us because we are his relatives, and because whoever you are, we too are relatives, and this book is for you too. Read this book — it is important for all of us, red and white and black and yellow and brown who share this island home in the Creation. Give it to you friends, as you would subscription to AKWESASNE NOTES. Give it to anyone who wants to know what is happening in America to the land, to the Original People, to all who love the Earth, to the human race, to Life on this planet.

You will read some of the feelings of people who are not heard from in the public media because they are not wealthy and powerful. You will read the words of Hopi People, how they feel about the prophecies of their Ancient Ones and what the *bahana*, is doing to the Earth and to Life. You will read the words of Navajo and Pueblo and Lakota and Cherokee and other native and non-native people. You will read the words of "lovers of Indians" and those who don't. You will read about non-Indian developments on reservations, luxury housing for wealthy whites, the power plant at Four Corners, the strip mining on Black Mesa, the fraudulent coal leases, the theft of water, the tearing up of the American West to provide energy for the cities, the fouling of the air and waters, the darkening of the sun and the chilling of the earth. It is all happening now. Urban civilization grows larger and more voracious each year. The "civilization" has become a blind monster, devouring all in sight, and then devouring itself. How long will it be before it eats itself up? Empires expand greedily throughout human history — and collapse of their own obesity. The peasants — the peaceful ones — lean and tough and poor and close to the Earth, the source of Life, endure. Purification is at hand.

It is the interviews that give the book substance and power. The words and feelings of forgotten characters speak in the dying agony of Western Civilization. You will read the words of a strip miner who says he is "just doing his job." But he thinks they improve upon the Creation when they try to put back the land. Flatter.

A Pueblo: "... never has any government gone to so much expense and into so much detail in order to steal something from somebody... The fact is that our water is being taken and our whole way of life is threatened."

Yetsi Blue: "[The White Man] feels he has to conquer the earth... because he has become an orphan. Because he has abandoned his Mother's love. And he fears the Mother Earth will not comfort him any more. He may be right."

The White Roots of Peace: "Whatever the People did to the Earth, they did to themselves."

Grace Black Elk: "My people are dying of the tyranny of the white man in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Who has taken their land? Who has left them in hunger? They are dying of hunger on my reservation... so I tell the white man he is wrong. He is going in the wrong direction. He will be dying too. He will be dying too, if he does not become human."

Senator James Abourezk: "In the cities on the East Coast, living is so totally unrelated to the land. The people don't understand how a human being can relate to the land. 'The land' is a meaningless concept to them... the urbanization of the West, and of the Indians, may be the 'final termination' of both."

An Oregon homesteader: "We ought to begin to realize that progress is not the Holy Grail, that there are better things on this earth than progress... My love is for the Earth itself."

A scientist: "We are changing the environment of man to so chemical a state of environment that we may never be able to go back to a natural environment, to evolve into higher beings. The invasion of our food chains, our biology, with chemicals may have changed our evolutionary patterns."

An old Montana rancher: "Republicans aren't real conservatives. Not really. They believe ripping up the land and destroying our country by strip mining is PROGRESS — just like everyone else... If they go through with what they have proposed — the strip mining of the whole eastern plains of the Rockies, add the cutting off of all our timber, for export, mostly, and the using up of all our water for power plants, and the polluting of all our mountain air — then I say this is our last chance to preserve America... The land is all fenced in. The land is covered with Interstate Highways, and gas stations, and shopping centers, and fancy hotels for the dudes and tourists, and those high-rise condominiums. I can't hardly talk no more about it — I feel like crying for a lost one... We live in a log cabin. Now you may think that's pretty primitive. But I say we got to learn how to live again, doing for ourselves, controlling our own lives, living on the land, and respecting the land."

Book Reviews

Gerald Wilkerson, director of the National Indian Youth Council: "Now, no one can know what is going to happen after this whole thing falls apart... All we can know is at the times the People will return as People. And maybe, through that, we will be able to create a new world, a world of human beings. There is another world. Another world is coming."

What this world will be like, or how we can help bring it about, is not within the scope of this book, and we need not demand that it be more than it is. Others, some who read this book or who live the agony this book describes, are already moving in response to what is happening.

Vine Deloria, Jr., calls *The Vanishing White Man* a "tough, honest, and incisive book."

Ashley Montague has called it a "great book". It is a book that needed to be written. The unusually large number of typographical errors and the unimaginative cover indicates the publishers lacked interest in this book. Perhaps if there were an unexpected demand, Harper and Row might be persuaded to take better care in another printing.

Ishi Means Man: Essays on Native Americans by Thomas Merton, Unicorn Press, Greensboro, N.C. 1976, clothbound \$8.00, paperbound \$4.00.

To anyone familiar with the writings of Thomas Merton, Trappist monk, poet and scholar, no further recommendation need be made than his name on the title page. This is a collection of five essays upon native American themes by a man who was possessed of one of the most profound, mystical-realistic compassionate-shrewd-religious-humanitarian sensibilities of his time — or any time. The subjects of these articles are five books: *The Shoshoneans* by Edward Dorn; *Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warrior* by Peter Nabokov; *Ishi In Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* by Theodora Kroeber; *The Caste War of Yucatan* by Nelson Reed, and *Ancient Oaxaca: Reports on Discoveries in Mexican Archeology and History*, edited by John Paddock. The articles are far more than book reviews, however — they are meditations upon the implications of the matter of these books.

Example: "Why do we always assume the Indian was the aggressor? We were in HIS country, we were taking it over for ourselves, and we likewise refused even to share any with him. We were the people of God, always in the right, following a Manifest Destiny. The Indian could only be a devil. But once we allow ourselves to see all sides of the question, the familiar perspectives of American history undergo a change. The 'savages' suddenly become human, the 'civilized' can seem barbarians... We are left with a deep sense of guilt and shame. The record is there. The Mill Creek Indians, who were once seen as bloodthirsty devils, were peaceful, innocent, and deeply-wronged human beings... It was we who were the wanton murderers, and they who were the innocent victims. The loving kindness lavished on Ishi in the end did nothing to change that fact — his race had been barbarously, pointlessly destroyed... In the end, no one ever found out a single name of the vanished community. Not even Ishi's. For Ishi simply means man."



The Invasion of America by Francis Jennings, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1975. \$14.95.

Every year at Thanksgiving Day, a few surviving members of the first nations on the Atlantic Coast gather at Plymouth to mourn the invasion of America and to protest, among other things, the false history of America promulgated in the schools and literature of the European invaders. Now at last comes a strong scholarly work that makes a good dent in the task of correcting that racist mythology. The publication of this excellent work is the single most important event yet in the documentation and analysis of America's early colonial history.

The subtitle of this book is "Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest." In the preface, Professor Jennings states: "The facts affirmed in this book will seem strange to students grounded in traditional lore. Some persons may find it incredible that the righteous god-fearing folk who were their ancestors could have engaged in such practices as are here described, especially the pervasive calculated deception of the official records."

The first part, presented topically and analytically, summarizes what is now known about the Atlantic Coast Indians encountered by the Europeans in the 16th and 17th Centuries. The second part details the invasion and conquest of New England as an illustrative case study of the earlier generalizations. Shorn of old mythology and rationalizations, Puritan actions are seen in the clear, uncolored light of avarice and bigotry. A few quotations may serve to indicate the flavor, if not the scope, of this book:

"Every European 'discoverer' had Indian guides. Every European colonizer had Indian instruction and assistance. Ethnocentric semantics have hidden the chief role of Indians in the creation of American society... What American society owes to Indian society, as much as to any other source, is the mere fact of its existence..."

"In a sense, one can say that the Indians universally failed to acquire capital because they did not want it... Despite the loftiest sentiments of morality and religion, Europeans have never been able or willing to devise a secure place in their midst for persons — other than those in holy orders — who care nothing about wealth. Nor have the Americans of European extraction been willing even to leave Indians alone so long as the latter occupied land that could be turned into wealth. Ironically, it has been the Indians' egalitarianism and generosity — traits much admired in European culture — that doomed him to the lowest echelon of the European social structure. This is a far cry from the mythical attributes of laziness and shiftlessness..."

"Colonials everywhere used numerous identifiable devices (and doubtless others) to seize Indian property with some show of legality. One method was to allow livestock to roam into an Indian's crops until he despaired and removed... A second method was for Englishmen to get the Indian drunk and have him sign a deed that he could not read. A third method was to recognize a claim by a corrupt Indian who as not the legitimate landlord and then to 'buy' the land from him. (Note: sometimes the drunk technique was combined with the fraudulent claimant approach.) A fourth method, highly reminiscent of feudal Europe, was a simple threat of violence... A fifth method, which seems to have been a favorite in New England, was the imposition of fines for a wide variety of offenses, the Indian's land becoming forfeit if the fines were not paid by their due date... Whether negotiated by diplomatic treaty or commercial contract, the effect of systematic dispossession cannot be overestimated. The selling Indian had only two choices: to retreat into the interior with the hope of being accepted as guests in another tribe's jurisdictions, or to accept subjection and exploitation in the lands of their former freedom."

"The war then begun has been misnamed King Philip's War: it was, in fact, the Second Puritan Conquest... The few intelligent racists' problem was to put a good face on a war of intended conquest by the Puritans that was met with desperate resistance by the Indians. That they concocted elaborate rationalizations to present Puritan aggression as anticipatory defense — to borrow a phrase from the 20th Century — is not strange. Puritans had long known the power or propaganda presented as history."

If the truth about the European invasion of this country is important to you, this book is essential. It should be required reading for all teachers of history.

Airlift to Wounded Knee by Bill Zimmerman, Swallow Press, Chicago, 1976. Hardcover only, \$10.00.

Do you have a friend or relative who discredits the defense of Wounded Knee in 1973? Maybe they won't believe AKWESASNE NOTES' coverage of that event, or maybe the thought is that 'it's all over and we should forget it.' Here's a gift to turn their heads around — an action-suspense spellbinder that pulls you in and won't let you go. And the reality, the truth, is manifest. You feel it, you taste it, you learn how it really was, and with that knowledge, except to the most narrow-minded, there must come understanding. The story of the airlift by one of the participants is gripping and the interwoven drama of the siege is harrowing. There is confusion and strength, humor and heartbreak, the discovery of self and comradeship and meaning and joy. The book follows up the after-events of government trials and again, the broken treaties. Once more, to whet the appetites, a few quotes:

"At times on an Indian reservation, people feel like they have so many problems it is not possible to find the cause of any one of them. The desperate, terrifying hopelessness that results was never a part of life at Wounded Knee. When the bullets weren't flying, people were relaxed and happy. For over two months, there was virtually no personal aggression or theft, no problems with alcohol or drugs. A baby was born, a couple was married, and two men were buried in the Indian way. Nearly everyone was armed or within easy reach of a weapon, but there was no fear, and leaders could walk among their people in safety. For the first time in almost 100 years, a place existed where the Sioux could practice their religion and be entirely secure from white interference."



Behind The Trail of Broken Treaties by Vine Deloria, Jr. Delacorte Press, N.Y., 1974. \$2.95, paperback, \$8.95 hardcover.

While this book is not newly published, it continues to be relevant since the issue of sovereignty is one that is crucial to the survival of native nations and our way of life. This was not meant to be a "popular" book for the general public, and is not written in the entertaining and witty style of the author's *Custer Died For Your Sins*. Instead, it follows the detailed factual reporting and sober analysis as did *God Is Red*. The plan of the book was to present as fully as possible the background of ideas within which the Declaration of Independence of an Indian Nation would make sense. The author states that it was a collective effort, with many people thinking about the subject, and several people writing.

"This book does not make any pretense of being a final statement on the legal and moral issues involved in the present situation," Deloria says in the foreword. "It is written to demonstrate that the proposal to re-open the treaty-making procedure is far from a stupid or ill-considered proposal. Rather it is one which would place the United States in the forefront of civilized nations in its treatment of the aboriginal peoples of the continent — a problem which even Japan and the Soviet Union have yet to resolve."

The book contains a brief history of Indian law available otherwise only in voluminous tomes, leading to the current period of activism from the fishing rights struggle at the siege of Wounded Knee, making the point that "the issue of political status and sovereign rights of the tribes remains the important and unresolved issue. There has been no liquidation of the political claims against the United States, and the national status of the Indian tribe remains intact. . .

"The present movement among American Indians to force the United States to honor its treaties and agreements and to institute a new treaty relationship with the tribes is the significant movement of our time, and perhaps of this century. . .

"The pressing need today is that the United States not only recognize the international status of the Indian tribes . . . but that it also authorize the creation of a special court to settle treaty violations . . . The claim of American Indians against the United States is not simply a demand for compensation for lands lost, but also a demand that a way of life that was nearly lost be protected from further depredations. The movement to reclaim that life and the independence which characterized it lies at the heart of the current Indian unrest and demonstrations."

As another reviewer wrote of this book, "What is new on the Indian scene is that young educated urban-bred Indians have been able to link hands in common cause with the traditionalists on the reservations. They are united in the drive to salvage and preserve Indian culture, including religion and language, and revitalize Indian communities as independent, self-governing [nations]. They reject assimilation, and struggle instead for 'the right to be Indian'. This national-separatist goal, not really new, but hitherto hidden, has not yet been understood by many liberals who still think that the answer to Indian problems is simply to 'open doors' to the white world and spend more money on Indian services."

Red Power: The American Indian's Fight For Freedom by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. \$2.95. 247 pp., ppb.

Although originally published in 1971, this remains one of the definitive works outlining the American Indian renewal movement. Actually a collection of essays, it documents the lines of thought current in the native communities prior to the Trail of Broken Treaties, and the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. As much as any book, *Red Power* documents the range and diversity of American Indian thought during the period 1965-1971. An important work which will prove invaluable to people trying to understand current native American thought and politics. "Our children are learning that their people are not worthy, and thus that they individually are not worthy. Even if by some stroke of good fortune, prosperity was handed to us 'on a platter' that still would not soften the negative judgment our youngsters have of their people and themselves. As you know, people who feel themselves to be unworthy and feel they cannot escape this unworthiness turn to drink and crime and self-destructive acts. Unless there is some way that we as individuals and communities can prove ourselves competent and worthy in the eyes of our youngsters, there will be a generation of Indians grow to adulthood whose reaction to their situation will make previous social ills seem like a Sunday School picnic."

Red Children In White America, by Ann H. Beuf, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977. Hardcover, \$9.00.

This is a study of prejudice, institutional racism, factors that establish negative images about one's own group, and the effects of oppression and injustice upon the personality. The book is sound, although written in the psycho-sociological style and jargon, and with the author's attitude towards change totally circumscribed by the values of the dominant culture of which she is a part. For this reason, she finds considerable similarity between the problems of native children and those of black children. She does not indicate that she really comprehends the nature and extent of the differences between native and non-native cultures. Nevertheless, her heart is good and her study has value for people in the fields of education, psychology, and race relations. For native people, it is something that from any day of their lives they already know.



Indian Summer (\$6.00) and **Teachings of Nature** (\$3.50) by Adolph Hungry Wolf. Good Medicine Books, Invermere, B.C.

The Good Medicine Series of books are illustrated with fascinating old photographs of native life in earlier times, of stories and skills and wisdom of the Old Ones, interesting anecdotes and historical information. *Indian Summer* contains much about Hungry Wolf's family and friends in Alberta and British Columbia, as well as stories of the Blackfoot People in years gone by. Having visited with Hungry Wolf and his family and friends last summer at the Good Medicine Ranch, I want to report that the man is as his books reveal him to be: living the life in harmony with nature that he writes about simply and reverently, and in his modesty, he has not been able to convey the charm and warmth of his wife, Sikskiaki, the friendliness and humor of all his family and friends. The book is a special album, the portrait of a real family and a tenacious community of traditionalists.

Teachings of Nature contains much information about wild plants and medicines and the growing of crops and the ways of birds and animals, as well as the ways of hunting, fishing, and farming of many different native peoples.

The quality of this delightful series — of which these are numbers 13 and 14 — continue to grow with each publication. I am looking forward eagerly to the long-awaited publication by Harper and Row of Hungry Wolf's latest book, *Kainai*, a very large volume of teachings and stories and old photographs of the Kainai or Blood People.

Legends Told By The Old People by Adolph Hungry Wolf. \$3.00. 61 pp., ppb.

Tipi Life by Adolph Hungry Wolf. \$2.00. ppb.

These selections from the Good Medicine Book Series have been favorites of our readers for years. *Tipi Life* was specifically written for people who might be interested in living in a tipi, and contains a number of fine photographs. *Legends* is a compilation of stories from the nations of the western peoples and the Inuit.



The Praying Flute: Song of the Earth Mother by Tony Shearer. Sun Publishing Co., Albuquerque. 1975. \$5.00.

Here is an absolutely delightful tale for young and old by the author of *Lord of the Dawn* about the Little People that used to be around before they were driven away — the Pockwatchies and Tlaloques. The edition is illustrated by the author and very attractively printed. It includes the Praying Flute's melody, "The Song of the Earth Mother". Story tellers take note: this is the most successful story of the many that I tell for young and old alike — a splendid teaching of the cruel way that we have treated our own Earth Mother. It is really nice to enlist the aid of a flute player to back up the story.



Tales From The Igloo by Maurice Metayer with illustrations by Agnes Nanogak. \$3.95. 123 pp., ppb.

This collection of Inuit stories is, we feel, one of the better available examples of the native story-telling art. There are 22 short stories in all, including titles such as "The Hunter and the Children" and "Lost At Sea". Most of the stories are 6 to 10 pages in length, and often reflect the morality of the Inuit.



Wild Edible Fruits And Berries by Marjorie Furlong and Virginia Pill. 62 pp., ppb, \$3.95.

We were attracted to this book immediately because of the excellent color photography. It is written in the style of contemporary seed catalogues, including a section of recipes and hints concerning use and processing of the fruits. Depicted are 42 wild fruits and berries common to the Pacific Northwest.

How Indians Use Wild Plants For Food, Medicine and Crafts by Frances Densmore. \$2.50.

This somewhat scholarly work focuses on the natural-plants culture of the Ojibway People of the Great Lakes. (It was originally titled, "Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians".) Although it is more of an historical than an instructional work (that is, tells how they did something rather than instructs the reader how to do something) it is a valuable work. With photographs. 347 pp., ppb.

Games of the North American Indians by Stewart Culin. 846 pp., ppb, \$9.95.

Games is almost without doubt the most complete and extensive work on this subject in print. There are descriptions and illustrations of dozens of games ranging from games of chance to athletic and team sports. In fact, team sports originated among the American Indians.



Turtle, Bear and Wolf by Peter Blue Cloud (Aroniawenrate). Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 1976. \$1.75.

As AKWESASNE NOTES is the publisher of this new book of poetry, it would not be proper for us to issue our own review. Blue Cloud's poems have appeared in NOTES, and for a time, he shared his energy and thoughts as poetry and book review editor of NOTES. And so we reprint the introduction of the book, written by Gary Snyder:

"Blue Cloud's poems are living proof that the power and beauty of the Old Way cannot be lost. Languages pass like snowfields, invaders come in waves. Whole forests, herds of Elk, Bison, Pronghorn, have evaporated. Lodges and Tipis go out of style.

"Is it all lost? Was it ever real? A world where men and women, trees and grasses, animals, the wind — were at ease with each other's song? Spoke? And this is today, some say, we must be grown-up, realistic; leaning forward and switching on the television set.

"Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally. He invents nothing — he speaks from his own heart and life. He is a true poet, at home in all times, everywhere. His language is his tool. His words echo the contradictions, complexities, suffering and oddly optimistic future visions that mark the Twentieth Century, Julian Calendar.

"But glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-Nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, that teaching is taught in the Old Way.

"the shoots
give life to eyes
which see
again
the people."



"Can it come again? It is always here. 'Old' means true, right, normal; in the flow of the universe. Old also because it is the basic way of life — Taoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, are the younger brothers, slightly confused because passing through the temporary turbulence called civilization. 'Old' becomes available to all — regardless of culture, race or place, who will set themselves down to the ground of their mind. We go about our Twentieth Century fossil-fuel-fired tasks, trying to keep in touch with that vast resonance.

"At winter's table
may we all
think upon
the first green shoots
those gone
and those to come."



OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place to plant my seeds') — or if you're still looking — this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. 'in time you'll wonder/in time you shall/travel/in time you will/cease...' The approach here binds two cultures — it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations." Nancy Lenau, in *Pocket Poetry*, August, 1976. 88 pages. \$2.50.

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. 66 pp. \$2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandi, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick.

This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for us to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned; they begin to decipher what has been passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask. . . And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." With photographs and poetry.

1977 Lunar-Solar Calendar "The Creation's Cycles"

There are still some copies available of the 1977 lunar-solar AKWESASNE NOTES calendar, but they are going fast, and they will not be reprinted.

Even though it is Springtime, these calendars will never go out of date, for even after the year is over, the 13 posters with each moon are suitable for framing, scrapbooks, or bulletin boards.

The calendars are 17 x 22 inches, with important events in native history summarized for many dates. The theme for the calendar is "Harmony With The Cycles."

Single copies of the calendar retail at \$3 each, postpaid, in a large envelope. Order now to avoid being told, "Sorry — all out."

Indigena Pamphlet Series

[INDIGENA is an organization devoted to the causes of the native peoples of the Americas. As an information center, it works cooperatively with AKWESASNE NOTES in this series of pamphlets, as well as having its own publications available. Write: INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.]



The Situation of Indian Peoples in Guatemala

A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by foreign interests, and people of their own heritage who have taken another path. 25 cents.

200 Years of Resistance Buttons

An eye-catching pin, an answer to the Bicentennial Era. 75 cents each, postpaid. Groups wishing to sell the pins as fund-raisers can obtain 100 for \$37.50, but payment must be included with the order.

Note Cards from the 50th Issue Cover

A packet of 20 attractive note cards with a reproduction of the cover art for the 50th issue on one page, with three pages blank. 3" x 4". Envelopes are not included but ordinary envelopes can be used. Only \$1 plus 25 cents shipping. (Ready again on March 1.)



Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring.

Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." \$1.75.

Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter Lemon in the *Los Angeles Free Press* says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and shame — and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation." 282 large-sized pages, \$4.95.

When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & shipping . . .

and if you'll add another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same —

Thanks for helping.

BEST OF AKWESASNE NOTES SERIES

[AKWESASNE NOTES' first fifty issues contained almost 2400 pages of articles, essays, and information about native and natural peoples. Only a third of those issues are still in print. So that information of continuing value remains available for study and discussion, this series reprints some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in NOTES.]

1. How Democracy Came to St. Regis & The Thunderwater Movement

Two historical articles by Rarihokwats, using data from Indian Affairs archives to detail how the bureaucracy deliberately thwarts and destroys native movements trying to help their people. 24 pages. 75 cents.

Tiahuanacu Manifesto

Proclaimed by the native people of Bolivia. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Aymara cultures today, of their view of the Spanish Conquest, and of the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. 25 cents.

The Indian Situation in Brazil Today

An outline of the genocidal war being waged against the native people of the Amazon. The destruction of communities is documented. 25 cents.

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Colombia

A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s. Like the others in this series, this pamphlet is illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto. 25 cents.

200 Years of Resistance Stamps

A sheet of 24 stamps, printed in two colors, for \$1.00 as a means of raising money for AKWESASNE NOTES at the same time you raise consciousness about native people and the Bicentennial Year. The stamps are on paper that sticks when moistened for use on letters and in public places as mini-reminders. Sheets are perforated. Groups wishing to sell the stamps as fund-raisers can obtain 100 sheets for \$50 with payment made in advance.

Wounded Knee Stamps

These stamps are miniatures of poster number 3. These are also \$1 a sheet.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

[The Six Nations Museum is at Onchiota, New York, where from Memorial Day until Labor Day each year, thousands of persons get a better understanding of the Iroquois heritage and way of life. The museum is owned by Tehanetorens, also known as Ray Fadden, Mohawk Wolf Clan. Most of the pamphlets in this series were issued by the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, and have been redesigned and reprinted by AKWESASNE NOTES.]

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old — and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.

The Migration of the Iroquois

Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history — how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, 75 cents.

Conservation

A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint — and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada, and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

Tales Of The Iroquois

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhes. The tales are as Tehanetorens remembers them being told to him. For many of them, along with the text, are pictographs which tell the story — and aid non-readers in remembering the story. *Tales of the Iroquois* is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8. \$2.50.

ALL BOOKS LISTED ON THIS PAGE ARE ALSO AVAILABLE FOR WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTION

Order From:
Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. \$1.95.



SPLINTERS OF THE TREE: a handsome poster, 17x22, in four colors, pretty enough to frame — and with a strong message. \$1, plus 25 cents for cardboard mailing tube.

BOOKS



POEMS... SONGS... STORIES

A BAG OF BONES by Marcelle Masson. Legends of the Wintu People of Northern California. \$3.50.

LIKE SPIRITS OF THE PAST TRYING TO BREAK OUT AND WALK TO THE WEST by Minerva Allen. Poems & stories by a young Assiniboine woman. \$3.50.

LAUGHING BOY by Oliver LaFarge. Pulitzer Prize novel of Navajo life. \$2.45.

OWL'S SONG by Janet Campbell Hale. Billy White Hawk against the white world is a sensitive portrayal of a 14-year-old's struggle to remain Indian. \$4.95.

LIGHT IN THE FOREST by Conrad Richter. Classic story of a white boy, captured, adopted, and raised among the People. \$1.25.

LEGENDS AND LORE OF THE PAPAGO AND PIMA INDIANS: O'otham Hoho'ok A'agitha, edited by Dean & Lucille Saxon. O'otham is the community and language of the Papago and Pima. These are stories about creatures with extraordinary powers, told in O'otham with English translation. \$5.95.

LITTLE BIG MAN by Thomas Berger. "I can't remember a novel more salty, more accurate, more amusing than this one. It is pure delight," said H. Allen Smith. \$1.75.

STAY AWAY JOE by Dan Cushman. Good humor about a fast-dealing free-wheeling fork-tongued "hero" of the New West. Caught between two worlds, this guy chooses to be mod. \$2.25.

WHISPERING WIND: Poetry by Young American Indians, edited by Terry Allen, featuring Phil George, Agnes Pratt, Calvin O'John, and other students of the Institute of American Indian Art. \$1.95.

THE LAST FRONTIER by Howard Fast. The story of a tiny village of half-starved Cheyenne, their determination to return to their homeland, and the U.S. Army's determination to stop them. \$1.25.

TRAPPING IS MY LIFE by John Tetso. The collected words of a man who preferred the harsh but rewarding life of the wilderness over the settlements of Northern Canada into which his people were drifting. \$4.95.

MAKAH: Indian Whale Hunters by John Morgan McReavy. Poetic narrative-style book about a whale hunt of this Northwestern People. The preparation, ceremonies, dangers, reverence and dependence associated with the whale. \$2.95.

LORD OF THE DAWN: QUETZALCOATL by Tony Shearer. "This book is a song that pours from a human heart, a song put into both words and pictures about a people and their great dreams." \$4.95.

AMERICAN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY by Alice Marriott & Carol Rachlin. Creation, animal, life stories from various nations. \$1.50.

BLUE CLOUD QUARTERLY: The Benedictine Abbey in South Dakota's pamphlet series — each beautifully designed, about 12 pages, with native poem, story, essays. Five different ones for \$1.10.

WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE by Hal Borland. A young native boy, torn between two worlds, finds his ancestral ways — alone. \$1.25.

THE PRAYING FLUTE by Tony Shearer. A new and welcome addition to a storyteller's repertory, an instant classic and delight to listeners very young to very old. About the Little People. Charming Drawings. \$4.95.

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. 67 photos and the legends to go with each pole. Where literature and art combine. \$3.95.

THE TSMISHIAN INDIAN AND THEIR ARTS by Vida E. Garfield & Paul Wingert. A study of one of the most creative of Northwest Coast cultures, the structure of its society, its religion, mythology, drama, dance, painting, weaving, etc. \$2.95.

INDIAN BASKET WEAVING: The Navajo School of Indian Basketry, with 114 illustrations. \$1.75.

POMO BASKETMAKING: A Supreme Art for the Weaver, by Elsie Allen. Profusely illustrated, including 10 baskets in color. \$2.50.



TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH INDIAN NATIONS. Useful for attorneys and libraries — every broken treaty listed here. \$75.00.

or
from this book for \$5.00 each:

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE GREAT LAKES.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE SIOUX NATION.

HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES

TO DIE GAME: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction, by W. McKee Evans. Guerrilla warfare against the Ku Klux Klan and the political establishment of North Carolina after the War Between the States. Hardcover only, \$8.95.

CHEYENNE MEMORIES by John Stands In Timber. Recounting of Cheyenne traditions. \$3.25.

STRANGE EMPIRE by Joseph Howard. A highly readable account of Louis Riel and the story of native nation-building in the prairies. \$5.95.

INDIAN SCOUTCRAFT AND LORE by Charles A. Eastman. Scouts will enjoy this book, which tells of life as it was lived by Indian boys and girls of a century ago as recollected by one who left it. \$2.00.

INDIAN BOYHOOD by Charles A. Eastman. Author's first-hand reminiscence of the life he led (until age 15) with the Lakotas. Republication of original 1902 edition. \$2.50.

PLENTY COUPS: CHIEF OF THE CROWS by Frank Linderman. Authentic biography of a loved leader. \$2.95.

SUN CHIEF, edited by Leo W. Simmons. A painfully honest autobiography of a Hopi man. \$4.95.

PATRIOT CHIEFS by Alvin Josephy, Jr. Chronicle of American Indian resistance — the life stories of nine leaders fighting their cause and not selling out to the invaders. \$2.75.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WINNEBAGO INDIAN, transcribed by Paul Radin. A classic written in 1920 of a man, Crashing Thunder, who lived in the traditional ways, became an alcoholic in the white world, and found himself again with peyote and new religious experience. \$1.50.

FIGHTING TUSCARORA by Chief Clinton Rickard. Autobiography of the Tuscarora leader of this century, founder of the Indian Defense League of America. Photos. Hardcover only, \$10.50.

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO. Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache by James Kaywaykla, as told to Eve Ball. A living biography of a people, well-remembered and well-spoken. \$4.95.

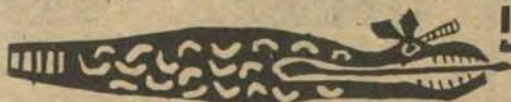
AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. 27 accounts of natural life by such authors as Franz Boas, A.L. Kroeber & Paul Radin. Each author depicts the life of a typical person in the various nations. 419 pages. \$2.95.

INDIAN LIFE IN THE UPPER GREAT LAKES: 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800, by George Quimley. Well-illustrated guide to the ethnology, geography, and archeology of the upper Great Lakes, reconstructed from glacial deposits, fossils, and unenticent. al records left by the People. \$2.95.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace. A clear deep historical book about religious and cultural Seneca life. \$3.95.

THE NAVAJO by Clyde Kluckhohn & Dorothea Leighton. The history, religion, social structure and present economic situation of a large native nation. \$2.95.

APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD by Jack D. Forbes. A detailed history of the southern Athapascans from 1540 to 1698. Hardcover, \$7.95.



SPECIAL INTERESTS

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT INDIANS BUT WERE AFRAID TO FIND OUT by Don Bibeau, Carl Gawboy & Naomi Lyons. A hilarious and devastating book of cartoons. Find out! \$1.25.

GAMES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS by Stewart Culin. This volume contains virtually everything there is to know about native American games, with many illustrations. 846 pages. \$9.95.

MACHINE-AGE MAYA by Manning Nash. The story of the People of Cantel, a Mayan community in the western highlands of Guatemala, and their transition from a simple farming technology to operating in their midst Central America's largest textile mill. \$1.95.

NAVAHO INDIAN ETHNOENTOMOLOGY by Leland C. Wyman & Flora L. Bailey. "Insects are of considerable importance in certain areas of Navajo life and thought." Classification, insect lists, references to insects in myths. \$3.00.

INTRODUCTION TO HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES by Franz Boas. The nature of native languages of North America, and their relationships to each other. \$2.45.

I HAVE SPOKEN compiled by Virginia Armstrong. A collection of American Indian Oratory from the 17th to 20th Century, concentrating on speeches focusing around Indian-white relationships, land, history, and future. \$2.95.

THIS IS A LIST OF FIFTY BOOKS, AVAILABLE IN SOFT COVER, WHICH WE REGARD AS A "BASIC LIBRARY".

All books are available from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683, individually. The entire collection is available for \$105 plus \$2 packing and shipping, a savings on the list prices which total nearly \$130. We reserve the right to make an occasional substitution.

We welcome suggestions and criticisms of this list, i.e., the names of books readers feel should be part of the basic library, or titles listed here which you feel should not be on a "Basic Library" list.

The purchase of a basic library is an excellent way for a school, library, urban center, or native organization to set up a special shelf of top-notch reading material.

Alcatraz Is Not An Island, edited by Peter Blue Cloud. Indians of All Tribes. \$3.95.

American Heritage Book of Indians by Wm. Brandon. \$1.25.

BIA I'm Not Your Indian Anymore. Akwesasne Notes. \$1.95.

Ashini by Yves Theriault. \$2.50.

Black Elk Speaks by John G. Neihardt. \$1.95.

Book of the Hopi by Frank Waters. \$1.95.

Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee by Dee Brown. \$2.50.

Come To Power, edited by Dick Lourie. \$3.95.

Custer Died For Your Sins, by Vine Deloria, Jr. \$1.50.

Death And Rebirth of The Seneca Nation by Anthony F.C. Wallace. \$3.95.

Great Law of Peace: The Iroquois Constitution. \$1.00.

Harpoon Of The Hunter by Markosie. \$2.25.

History of the Five Indian Nations by Cadwallader Colden. \$2.95.

Hopi Prophecy by Dan Katchongva. \$1.00.

House Made Of Dawn by Scott Momaday. \$1.50.

I Have Spoken compiled by Virginia Armstrong. \$2.95.

I Will Fight No More Forever by Merrill Beal. \$1.95.

Indians In America's Past by Jack Forbes. \$2.95.

Indian Tales by Jaime deAngulo. \$1.75.

Indians of the Americas, by John Collier. \$1.25.

Indians of the North Pacific Coast, edited by Tom McFeat. \$3.95.

Ishi in Two Worlds by Theodora Kroeber. \$2.45.

Last Frontier by Howard Fast. \$1.25.

Laughing Boy, by Oliver LaFarge. \$2.45.

League of the Iroquois by Lewis Henry Morgan. \$4.95.

Literature of the American Indian by Tom Saunders. \$4.95.

Little Big Man by Thomas Berger. \$1.75.

Lost Universe, by Gene Weltfish. \$1.85.

Magic World by William Brandon. \$2.95.

Man Who Killed The Deer by Frank Waters. \$3.50.

Native Americans, by William Meyer. \$1.50.

New Indians by Stan Steiner. \$2.65.

North American Indian Arts, by Andrew Whiteford. \$1.95.

On The Glimmering Way, by John Collier. \$2.95.

Patriot Chiefs, by Alvin Josephy, Jr. \$2.95.

People of The Deer, by Farley Mowat. \$1.25.

Red Power, by Alvin Josephy, Jr. \$2.95.

Sacred Pipe, by Black Elk & Brown. \$2.95.

Soul Catcher, by Frank Herbert. \$1.25.

Sun Dance People by Richard Erdoes. \$1.95.

Tales From The Igloo, by Maurice Metayer. \$3.95.

Tales of The Iroquois, by Tehanetorens. \$2.50.

Tewa World by Alfonso Ortiz. \$2.95.

There Is My People Sleeping by Sarain Stump. \$2.95.

Uncommon Controversy, by American Friends Service Committee. \$2.95.

Voices From Wounded Knee. Akwesasne Notes. \$4.95.

The Way, by Stan Steiner and Shirley Hill Witt. \$3.95.

We Talk, You Listen by Vine Deloria, Jr., \$.95.

When the Legends Die, by Hal Borland. \$1.25.

World's Rim, by Alexander. \$2.95.



"CANADIAN" SUBJECTS

"What was wrong was the attitude that because those people inhabiting North America were not Christian, they somehow had no claim to the land on which they lived."

— Who Owns Canada

WHO OWNS CANADA: Aboriginal Title & Canadian Courts by William T. Badcock. A native and legal viewpoint on the attitude of Canadian courts on the question of the rights of native people to their land. \$1.50.

RESERVATIONS ARE FOR INDIANS. "A factual, revealing, and profoundly infuriating account of life as most native peoples of Canada are forced to live it." — Saturday Night. \$4.95.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA (Second Edition), edited by Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg. This book challenges the legal and historical assumptions behind many of the injustices stemming from Canada's dealings with the People. \$8.95.

HOW INDIANS USE WILD PLANTS FOR FOOD, MEDICINE AND CRAFTS by Frances Densmore. Nearly 200 plants used by the Anishnabeg for sweeteners, seasonings, dyes, toys, baskets, bows. \$2.50.

THE PEYOTE CULT by Weston LaBarre. Classical study of the Native American Church as seen by an anthropologist. \$2.45.

NATURAL REMEDIES FOR BETTER HEALTH by Dr. Ingrid Sherman. Recipes based on nature's own healing power. \$2.95.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MAYA HIEROGLYPHS by Sylvanus Griswold Morley. A basic book, full in interpretation, making the Maya system of writing accessible to the beginner. \$4.00.

BENEATH THE MOON AND UNDER THE SUN by Tony Shearer. This book sings of Quetzalcoatl and poetically reveals the spiritual source of the Sacred Calendar used in Mexico and Central America. Beautifully illustrated. Hardcover, \$12.50.

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART by Pal Keleman. In two volumes, each of about 400 pages, with extensive photos. Volume I has an introduction, with sections on architecture, sculpture and pottery. Volume II covers weaving, metal work, jade and other semi-precious stones, murals and manuscripts, and miscellaneous applied arts. It also has chapters on daily life and evolution of art form. Each volume is \$4.50.

AIRLIFT TO WOUNDED KNEE by Bill Zimmerman. The tale of the risky mission to drop food into Wounded Knee during the siege on the village by U.S. forces in 1973. Hardcover only. \$10.00.

POUNDMAKER by Norma Sluman. Chief of the Battleford area Crees, peacemaker, warrior, a proud man not content with second-class citizenship. The young Canadian government called him rebel and traitor. \$7.95.

OJIBWAY WARRIOR'S SOCIETY. A pamphlet of 33 pages of interviews with two members of the Society in occupied Anicinabe Park, Kenora, Ontario, August, 1974, and the Manifesto of the Native People's Caravan. 50 cents.

THE CANADIAN INDIAN: A History Since 1500, by E. Palmer Patterson II. An unemotional, lucid account of Canada's Original People from earliest contact to current struggle. \$2.95.

MERCURY POISONING, NATIVE PEOPLE AND REED PAPER COMPANY by Steve Moore. Evidence of industrial pollution which poisons native people at White Dog and Grassy Narrows Reserves and the government's cover-up. 24 pages, 50 cents.

Order from:
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683



DESIGN AND CRAFTS

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. An analysis of frequently-used designs. 176 illustrations. \$2.50.

DECORATIVE ART OF THE SOUTHWESTERN INDIANS by Dorothy Smith Sides. Main emphasis is on ceramic decoration, including pieces from archeological sites, plus basketry, beadwork, masks, dolls, and paintings and blankets. \$1.50.

AMAZON INDIAN DESIGNS edited by Theodore Menten. 190 designs from rare carved wooden objects by indigenous peoples of Brazil and the Guianas. \$2.25.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN by Bill Holm. The catalogue of the Sidney Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Burke Washington State Museum. Photographs. \$4.95.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS by Andrew Whiteford. A brief introduction to the material culture of the native Peoples packed with beautiful and lucid illustrations in full color. \$1.95.



INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK — blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos — is available from AKWESASNE NOTES. It is mixed, packed, and shipped at Akwesasne. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are \$1.15 each, or 3 for \$3.15, postpaid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in 1/4-pound or 1/2-pound pouches.

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobacco — just barks, roots, leaves, herbs. Great for people who can't quite quit smoking.

Each blend of **KINNI-KINNICK** is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking.

The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sampler of six two-ounce pouches of each of the six blends for \$25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted. Order from:

Kaherahare
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive into tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more fancy: sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, "strawberry baskets". They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 26"-high packbasket.

In addition, there is beadwork: earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chokers, and others.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. But individual orders can be sent on approval, and we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising or sale at a powwow, trading post, coffee party, etc. Order a 30-day consignment by making a deposit of 50%. A typical consignment would have a retail value of \$133. Your price would be \$100, plus about \$2 shipping. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any items you wish. Order from:

Kaientares
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

GUATEMALA CRAFTS

We've been overwhelmed with the response to the offerings of Guatemala textiles and blankets — please be patient with us as the people we work with in Guatemala fashion the items, get them sent to us, cleared through customs, and out to you.

These beautiful fabrics are made available to aid Mayan families which depend upon this market for their total cash income. We feel it is important to help in this way, and to make available to native and natural people of North America these beautiful handmade textiles to increase our own consciousness that it is possible to make such beautiful things with our own energies and the gifts of the Creation.

At the present time, we are not listing many items until we can get caught up with our orders — but there are items coming in all the time.

All items must be prepaid and are sent at the prices listed, plus cost of shipping for which you should add \$1 or so. If you are not completely satisfied, you may return the item to us by insured mail or UPS for a full refund.



TWO SPECIAL ITEMS

MAYAN BLANKETS: These blankets are a real bargain at \$40 — we have had people value them at prices up to \$150. Beautiful, thick, warm blankets, made of new wool with Mayan designs. Equal in quality to fancy high-priced blankets sold in the best shops. Durable enough for a bedroll, and yet soft enough to sleep in. These blankets are woven on a large loom, brushed with thistles, shrunk in a hot volcanic stream, and prepared by a Mayan family especially for AKWESASNE NOTES people. 58 x 86 inches.

COLORFUL SASHES: Brightly-colored narrow stripes, strong enough to give real back support. Can be worn by men or women. About 6 inches wide by 50 inches long, with embroidered design and tassels at one end. Woven on a back-strap loom. Very durable. \$7.

POSTERS



Wounded Knee



Zuni Governor



Chief Joseph



Three Sisters



Grandma Hunter



Sitting Bull



Shackled Native



Family Portrait



Poundmaker



Fire Carrier



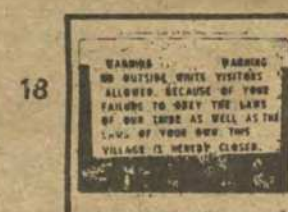
Dan Katchongva



Three Horsemen



Statue of Liberty



Signs of the Times



Our Ideas



Rush Gatherer



Bear-Belly



Flathead Chief



Wintu Woman



Shrine of Hypocrisy



Circle of Life



Crow Dog



Blackfoot Chief



Ganienkeh



Circle of Life

Wholesale quantities: The posters are excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows. 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for \$25.

The Things That Are Ours

Painted Tipi

Unity Under The Creation

(this issue)

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for \$1, or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. One poster, "Splinters of the Tree" (28) is in four colors, and is \$1 each. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

:LETTERS:

Survival Schools Teach The Way

GREETINGS: Just wondering why no coverage of conference of Federation of Survival Schools in October, 1976? Survival Schools are springing up all over the U.S. and Canada. They need lots of support, prayers, donations, etc.

The prophecies of our people have come true. Just look at the 6 o'clock news. If we want to survive, we better start learning now. It's hard, and takes time and determination. I seek direction in my prayers and receive it in my dreams. The spirits of our ancestors have much to teach us, just as the spirits of the animals and all other living things hold lessons for us.

We must also act as teachers to ourselves and our brothers. That's why the Creator made us with the gifts of sight, and hearing, etc.

Survival Schools and camps should operate in accordance with the plan of our Creator. The secret? Strong spiritual awareness.

The U.S. Government is always worried about the next American Indian uprising. They even fabricated one before 1976 was over, 'cause 1976 was s'posed to be the "big year". Well, U.S. Government, it's been going on for a long time. It's a spiritual revolution — let's see the FBI and CIA work on that case.

We don't need bombs or grenades or army tanks. Mother Earth will take care of the physical revolution. She has already begun. Again, listen to the newscasts.

We must prepare ourselves spiritually and physically to return to our roots. We must support our brothers who share our dream of living in harmony with the gifts of the Creator according to the Creator's plan. We must lend a hand to make that dream a reality. Then we must live that way for the rest of the time our Creator gives us.

We already know that politics, technology, and scientists have no answers. They only breed more problems. Their answers are based on self-fulfilling theories. Watch Sixty Minutes.

The way of our Creator is based on truth, respect and the spiritual beliefs given to each nation in the beginning. Survival schools and camps should be these things. In spirit, love & struggles, I am me.

Unsigned
Turtle Island

[We are totally dependent upon our readers to send us information for AKWESASNE NOTES. No use of looking around at the Survival School conference for a NOTES reporter. There aren't any — excepting that every person there could send us tapes, articles, essays, photographs, sketches. Then there would be an article. As each reader also has an obligation to supply content for the paper, the cycles of the Creation are kept moving. Thanks for the good letter. The Editors.]

A Beautiful & Powerful Voice

BROTHERS & SISTERS: AKWESASNE NOTES is a beautiful and powerful voice for peoples building new/old communities in harmony with each other and with Mother Earth. As co-publisher of "North Country Star", a Northern California paper with goals similar to yours — and as a white man sitting on land taken from the Costanoan Indians who suffered genocide at the hands of Spanish and American colonists in the San Francisco Bay Area — I would like to share some thoughts and hopes with you.

Many of us here in Northern California are struggling to create a regional community living in balance with Nature. We know that the invader society, of which we are part, is doomed to destroy itself by its own waste, greed and exploitation. Our "environmental" or "back-to-the-land" movement, though largely a white, middle-class movement, is informed and inspired by traditional Native American culture, and by the self-determination movement of indigenous peoples today.

I am painfully aware that the interests of the white environmentalist come often into conflict with those of Native Americans. Indeed, the land we're going back to was taken from Native Americans, often very recently. From the Native American point of view, we lovers of the "Noble Savage" may be dangerous characters, working to keep Indians in a state of primitive splendor while our own main culture destroys the Earth for profit.

At the same time, what unites us — a love for North America, a desire to live here in peace without exploitation — is far greater than what divides us.

I especially want to invite Native Peoples of Northern California to contact us. What are your needs and goals, that we might work with you to achieve. How can we work together to restore human balance with our incredibly beautiful natural region?

May the future bring all natural peoples into closer harmony, with respect for our natural diversity.

John Lewallen
"North Country Star"
POBox 24081
Oakland, California 94623

And Have A Good Day!

DEAR INDIANS: I sympathise with all of you, but you must look at it from my point of view. I'm a big power in Chicago, and I have very much influence over the country. Listen to me now and take it as you have it now, or we will totally destroy you within a very short time after reading of this letter. Get ready for war, Devils.

White Man
Chicago, Illinois

Wanted By The FBI: Indians

NOTES: There is something that makes me very mad. There is this TV station in Phoenix, KPHO. The cowboys-and-Indian movies are bad enough, but now, every half hour or so, the FBI show a picture of an Indian wanted by the FBI, so you can call a number shown on the screen if you have seen them. Now they make us all look like criminals. Once I've seen a white guy shown — it's the Indians they're after. What the hell can we do?

Ylinga
Casa Grande, Arizona



Anti-Life Cultural Traditions

NOTES: The enemy is not the "(insert appropriate color) man" but rather the blind following of anti-life cultural practices. Although the Caucasian culture has done the most observable damage (this time), that is only due to the amplification of destructive anti-life consciousness by the advent of machine technology. The Red, Yellow, Brown and Black Peoples carry many anti-life cultural practices down through the generations primarily in the domains of food/agriculture — witness, for example, the creation of deserts by non-technological peoples.

The current myth among non-whites that their way of life is better by definition is sheer folly, since they all possess fatal traps. The most successful approach to survival is the forming of multi-racial communities who, by contrasting and comparing their various traditions, consciously evolve a lifestyle that seeks, and is rewarded, by Truth.

The universe is evolving, and the People who cling to the old practices merely because they are old will stagnate and be left behind, trapped in the past.

Laurie
Ecologos
80 Martin Road
Milton, Massachusetts 02186

On Convening A Conference

FRIENDS: I am white, non-expert in Indian matters, and have had few contacts with native Americans. I would therefore greatly value your opinion. My idea is simply this: if we could somehow move the President or Government to desire a radical change toward the better in the treatment of the Indian, the first most crucial step in that direction should be the convening of a conference of Indians nationwide. The purpose of the conference would be to give the Indians a chance to tell us whites what you want.

There are problems, of course. As much as the Indians have every right to ask that all treaties be honored, it is no longer possible to do so. The white population cannot be expected to give back all the land. Asking for too much could trigger a backlash of increased resentment and prejudice against the Indian. But with enlightened leadership at the highest levels, white people could be induced to accept some loss, especially over a period of time. The role of the conference would be to determine what would benefit Indians the most at the least expense to the whites.

Dick Johnson
Lakeside, California



The Wannabe Tribe

BROTHERS & SISTERS: How often do we sit back and say, "The white man is ignorant of our ways." But then when they come to us, we call them "Want-to-be Indians", and laugh and complain about them that they try to live in a traditional way. Maybe we should take a good look at ourselves before we say the white man is ignorant of our ways.

Francis B.
Ithaca, New York

Helping Our Grandparents

NOTES: The elders are dying unnecessarily, too soon, and without anyone to step into their place. Often they die alone or in the cold shininess of a Wacishun hospital. With them goes the Tradition, off into the sunset, leaving no fire by which to survive the long night before the New Day. Not everyone older is an elder, or course. A few days ago, a real Medicine Chief, a Wicasa Wakan — died in a rehabilitation hospital years before his Work was ready. He died because nobody was with him. Nobody — including myself — made sure he was being related to as a live human being with important things to do. Many folks were near and concerned, but nobody had dropped all else to stay right there, keeping his morale up, talking and living Tradition with him, being assertive and competent with whatever "authorities" were involved, getting him the heck out of there and back in the natural environment. Others have died because of lack of emergency temporary medical attention, others of loneliness, malnutrition, assassination, and simple neglect. This is everyone's loss, including Mother Earth's.

The Elk Fire Society is a shield ring to provide two types of help. An all-around person (could be more than one) to pack up and go be with them at all times. Like a Dog Soldier, they plant their lance at the feet of the elder and there it remains unless relieved and replaced by another Elk Fire Society member. An entire family can even do this. The other type of helper is more specialized, such as cook, lawyer, nurse, driver, lover, Medicine assistant or even apprentice. The Elk Fire Society is open to both sexes and all ages. The qualifications are to be ready, willing and able. Members are on call at a 24-hour to 1-month notice, depending on the service and the need. This is heroic action for which we need heroic people. One thing a hero never has is an expense account — at least for a while, members finance their activities as best they can.

"Elk" because part of elk magic or medicine is the protection of the herd. "Fire" because that's what's being protected here, and also this is a Fiery thing to do.

Elk Fire Society
6116 Locust
Cotati, California 94928

Words That Strengthened Us

NOTES: Accept my donation for what we consider to be one of the few truly worthwhile and socially beneficial publications that exist in the world today.

Kathleen Nichols
Hunter, New York

Spiritual Nourishment

NOTES: About two years ago I first encountered NOTES, and have since found it to be one of the few sources of spiritual nourishment around. As a Christian for many years — and even a seminarian for over two years — I have followed your recent debate on the role of Christianity with intense interest.

As I see it, there are two basic aspects of Christianity directly important to native peoples concerned with keeping traditional cultures alive, as well as to others seeking to discover or maintain a natural way of life.

The first involves the teachings of the church as they exist in our time, and the second has to do with the historical role of Christianity in the world. Because these are huge, highly interrelated subjects, I will limit my remarks to the area of the most irreconcilable conflict between Christianity and the views of most NOTES readers: the Christian concept of nature.

In speaking of the Christian Church, it is necessary to distinguish between its two main wings. This is not the traditional Catholic/Protestant division, but a distinction between the conservative and progressive factions. This conservative/progressive split can be observed, and is relatively similar, in both Catholic and Protestant camps. Having been raised a conservative, and having studied at a highly-progressive seminary, I feel I'm reasonably familiar with the thinking of both groups.

The conservatives are easiest to discuss as they attempt to take quite literally the teachings of the Bible and the traditional doctrines of the Church. Their attitude toward nature is relatively straight-forward. I've listened to countless sermons based on biblical texts such as "The friendship of the world is enmity with God." (James 4:4)

Conservative Christianity stresses texts such as these because they believe Jesus rose from the dead, thereby breaking the power of nature which was "fallen" and evil in the first place — this is the central doctrine of conservative Christianity. To see some of the implications, read the letters of St. Paul and observe what is said when the word "natural" is used.

When it comes to liberal or progressive Christianity, the situation is harder to pin down, and for this and other reasons, it may well be the more dangerous. This wing of the church may use the same language as the conservatives, but doesn't rely on the ultimate truth of any particular doctrine. God, rather, is seen as being at work in history guiding man's progress through successive stages, with each stage leading to more and more enlightenment. Finally, perfect peace, justice, prosperity and enlightenment will be attained. This, of course, sounds most attractive.

Judaism based itself on the idea of a god of history, which it saw as an advance on the surrounding nations who all had religions based on nature. The New Testament brings the humane idea of forgiveness that replaces

Women On The Pyramid

NOTES: "Women Ordained," the headlines say. Why have priests, bishops, archbishops and popes at all?

Jesus did not care for world society built vertically, high priest, priest, and levite, with kings, lords, dukes. "They that are their benefactors lord it over them, but it shall not be so among you," he said to his followers. He wanted society built horizontally.

Men do not need bosses, but inspiring leaders in all walks of life. In religion, those who liked Jesus wanted to be like him. That is leadership. Today, we sadly lack such leadership in both Christianity and Democracy.

Go ahead, Episcopal Church — make women priests. They will be no improvement over us male clergy, believe me.

Vine Deloria Sr.
Pierre, South Dakota

Our Relatives On The Islands

NOTES: We are establishing a culture-exchange program for students on the Indian reservations and students living in Hawaii on the Island of Oahu. The program's main objectives are to educate non-Indians in the life and culture of the first American peoples — it is my belief we all have the responsibility to prepare non-Indians for a new and better understanding and appreciation of [our peoples]. We are in great need of funds, as well as people who would like to donate their time and wisdom for a better tomorrow.

Mrs. Marlene Rasmussen
91-927 Akaholo Str.
Ewa Beach, Oahu, Hawaii 96706

Surrounded By Racism

FRIENDS: The more I see of how we have fouled up this part of the planet, the more I regret the day when we took the land from your People. The latest shocker I got was when I happened to read our current garden notes, expecting it to be about the care of Christmas plants. In it, I learned that the poinsettia was named after General Poinsett, head of U.S. forces against native resistance. He was particularly sadistic — really loved his job. So, I hope none of these plants ever enter my home. It is a shame that even our plants have to be associated with such human deeds. God bless and keep you all,

Mrs. E. Pearman
Victoria, British Columbia

the Old Testament law. The Reformation liberates people even more (from penances, etc.) and makes free thinking and the consequent scientific progress possible. In the end, God and Progress become virtually identified. When I was a seminarian, the most-enthusiastically discussed recent book of theology was one that specifically laid out exactly that view of history. Not by accident, it was claimed, did the scientific and industrial revolutions arise in Protestant Northern Europe where thought had been liberated. Significantly, this was not a statement of regret, but an attempt to claim credit.

The irony is that the claim may have some validity, but not just because of liberated thought. When historical Christianity made religion strictly a matter of repentance and faith, the door was left open for the absence of ethical responsibility to become widespread. The great Sauk war chief, Black Hawk, once observed: "The whites may do bad all their lives and then, if they are sorry for it when about to die, all is well! But with us, it is different. We must continue throughout our lives to do what we conceive to be good."

When Christian freedom is combined with an anti-nature bias, we have an exact prescription for the way in which American society has developed, but there is more. I've heard both conservative and liberal theologians expound at length on God's command to mankind to multiply and to subdue the earth (Genesis 1:28). "Subdue the earth!" would make a good motto to hang in the offices of corporations engaged in stripmining or in damning rivers.

One last seminary event stands out in my mind, a week-long conference featuring some of the Church's best minds in the fields of theology, history, psychology, and sociology. The topic was "A Future Worthy of Man". The best they could come up with in the end was that the "Kingdom of God" (that blissful state mentioned earlier) was about to arrive — we were now developing the technology to make it possible, they said. Two relatively new things — computers and nuclear power — would go a long way toward bringing it about. Knowing nothing at the time of traditional ways, and having only a vague sense that something was very wrong when ecological concerns were ignored and Progress was deified, I realized it was time to leave Christianity behind.

The point of all this is not to jar someone's faith unnecessarily, or even to spread around the seeds of my own disillusionment. It is, however, important to understand that Christianity, in whatever form, is ultimately irreconcilable with the views of natural people. Some Christians make the attempt, but they must ignore a major part of their tradition to do so. It is most difficult for any natural person to get into bed with Christianity without becoming prostituted to some extent.

Byron Burch
Richmond, California

Comments

The Name Of The Game

NOTES: The letter in Midwinter Issue from Scott Chausse of Colorado bawling court and trial reporting in NOTES is really funny. If someone wants to learn about Indian culture of by-gone days, let him go to the Smithsonian, where Mangas Colorado's head was sent.

First things first — it is more important to try to save human beings from death in the electric chair, from life in prison, or from starvation or poisoning, than it is to titillate aesthetic palates.

That's what AKWESASNE NOTES is all about.

Russell West
Warwick, Rhode Island

Waiting For the Whiteman

FRIENDS: I feel I have to tell you I'm growing tired of the attitude presented in NOTES that there must be a good whiteman — somewhere. I can understand the feeling, but not all of us are the greedy war-mongers described in your paper. Why group all white people together. Do you really believe we're all bad? I hope not — I'd like to think we're on the same side, you and me.

Penny Witkege
Royal Oak, Michigan

[The quote is from Leonard Crow Dog. He is still railroaded in the slammer somewhere in the U.S. Prison System. He is still waiting for that good whiteman, or for all those who are not "greedy war mongers", to get themselves together and get him out, so he can return to his spiritual work with his People. Being on the same side isn't enough — organizing and action are needed. Re-read the article in the last issue on Crow Dog. There is a list of simple things people can do to help secure his release. The Editors.]



NOTES: I would like to congratulate Medicine Story for his fantastic cartoon, "Trouble with you people, is you never knew how to use the land." [Midwinter Issue] I find it especially appealing because I am a Palestinian. Israelis are "using" occupied Palestine the same way U.S. is used and all in the name of progress. Somehow, both the U.S. and the Zionist State think that if you can "use" land you have a right to steal it from its lawful inhabitants. What the Palestinians are striving to do is avoid the fate of Native Americans whose rights have been trampled.

Orayb Najjar
Bloomington, Indiana

... and still another on Nazism

NOTES: Frau Ursula Beyrich's letter (Early Autumn issue) is nothing short of amazing. Her abysmal ignorance of German history, her banal apologetics for mass-murder, her *gemutlichkeit* "assessment" of Nazi "philosophy" — to call her letter mind-boggling is inappropriate; "nauseating" is perhaps the better word.

She manages to relegate the entire Holocaust to a "fault" made by Hitler and his top cohorts. The complete suppression of civil liberties — a "fault". The kangaroo courts — a "fault". The brutal occupation of Europe — a "fault". Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Sobibor, Treblinka, Dachau and all of the other concentration camps, the death factories — a "fault". Genocide — a "fault". The mass murder of innocents — a "fault". The cold-blooded, heinous murder of millions — a "fault".

I will grant Frau Beyrich this: the actions that occurred under the reign of Adolf Hitler and Company were not done by super-evil monsters, devils, or "satanic gangs". If that were true, then the explanation for what happened would be easy. No, these deeds were accomplished by ordinary people, people with families. Therein lies the horror.

I am not a believer in the Nazi-fostered theory of collective guilt. The entire German people cannot be condemned. There were many who fought back, many who were imprisoned, many who were tortured, many who were killed — for the "crime" of fighting against Nazism. These people, Frau Beyrich, are the true heroes of Germany.

Shelby Shapiro
Agana, Guam

Too Bad He Won't Read This

NOTES: In answer to Keith van de Castle's letter in your Early Autumn issue, cancelling his subscription because of your supposed "attention to violence" — surely it is better to cancel his subscription to the society that perpetrates the violence, racism, and oppression toward native peoples?

In refusing to receive NOTES, he is destroying the best source of understanding that can bring people together in harmony and peace. Without NOTES, many people in all parts of the world would be unaware of the murders of Indian People which are ignored by the national establishment papers, so as to perpetuate the image of America as a citadel of justice and freedom.

Mr. Van de Castle, you need NOTES more than they need you.

Sarah C. Stephenson
Tyre and Wear, England

What's Wrong With Canada Aid

NOTES: As a Canadian, I would like to thank you for solving one problem I have had for a long time — how to explain to my fellow Canadians what is wrong with all the various aid and relief our Government gets involved in. Your excellent article on our presence in Guatemala was just what the doctor ordered. It was concisely pointed and thoroughly fair. Yours is an excellent journal.

Franz Klingender
Waterloo, Ontario

More Replies on Nazism

FRIENDS: The letter by the German Indian "specialist" Ursula Beyrich to AKWESASNE NOTES comparing the Nazis of Adolf Hitler with the Indian movement is a grave insult to the Indian People, and a shame to us. (Vol 8, no. 3).

There may be understandable (but not legitimate) reasons why the majority of the common men (not to mention the upper classes) in Germany (1933) and in Austria (1938) opted for Hitler's Nazi Party. But the Nazi movement was a racist, terrorist movement which by pretending to unite and liberate the German-speaking peoples from its very beginning wanted to exploit its capacity and strength to force upon these people a terrible dictatorship and to attack and suppress so many nations in West and East Europe.

The Nazis caused the Second World War which cost the life of 50 million people. The Nazis committed genocide on European Jews (6 million were murdered). They occupied most of our neighboring countries, killed millions of their people, destroyed their cities and lands, and caused hatred among them against anything German. Not only our neighbors, but also hundreds and thousands of Germans who opposed Hitler's dictatorship suffered in concentration camps, were tortured or murdered. Austrian and German Jews — more than a million people — who were totally integrated into the German-speaking people and who had contributed more than any other group of that size to German culture were persecuted, hunted or killed.

When the Western Powers — the United States, France, and Britain — as well as Soviet Russia took "revenge" on the Germans, they broke any democratic, Christian, or socialist ideal by punishing millions of women and children. I do think that it is necessary also to criticize and denounce these inhuman measures of the Allied Powers, and I also think that the 12 million Eastern Germans who were deported from their East German territories and their centuries-old settlements, were treated in a way millions of peoples had been treated before by European and Euro-American colonialists (among them Germany) for centuries. But it is also obvious that no German has a right to complain about this tragedy, who is aware of what Nazism did.



Since Frau Beyrich is even sympathizing with this awful movement in German history, her letter should not have been published in NOTES, because there are so many other letters which are of importance, like the one which reached us recently, from a class of ten-year-old girls and boys from Hamburg, who wrote: "Concerning the imprisonment of the Sioux Medicine Man Leonard Crow Dog, we have heard of this terrible fate and decided to send him the money we received for our school feast." Also, more than 6,500 groups, individuals, and organizations took part in a protest campaign for Leonard Crow Dog to the U.S. Ambassador in Bonn from all parts of the German-speaking area.

Tilman Zulch
Association for Endangered Peoples
2000 Hamburg 13
Parkallee 18
Germany

The Church Militant

NOTES: I want to thank you who are getting out the AKWESASNE NOTES. I do enjoy the wealth of material you prepare. The note of militancy is sometimes disturbing, but I recall we used to refer to the Church on earth as "The Church Militant", and perhaps there would be less cause for militancy among the dispossessed if we had been more militant on bringing about our ideals.



Teuton Power

NOTES: This is in response to your Late Autumn "How It Is With Us". This is how it is here. The so-called "back-to-the-land" philosophy, which you somewhat disparagingly refer to, is rooted in ancient and honorable tradition. Yes, I'm proud! Self-sufficiency is essential to freedom, and communal self-reliance is an ethical response to the times.

Wilfred Pelletier wrote in his *Autobiography*, "Whatever happens to me, I'll have lots of company, Indians and whites, because the kids are dropping out by the thousands, out of the games, out of the organizational movie, and it isn't taking them as long as it took me. They've got a lot to learn, but they aren't wasting time any longer going to school, getting educated. They're learning. They're going back to the land, more and more of them. And that's the only real seat of learning there has ever been. They'll learn from the land all they need to know, all there is to know. If they stay there long enough, they'll learn that they are the land."

I am a Teuton. My people are the Batavi, an ancient tribe who dwell on the island Betawe and between the Rivers Rhine and Waal in the Lowlands.

At an unknown date, the Teutonic tribes had left their good original homelands in Asia (Aryana Vaejo on the shores of the Caspian Sea). The *Vendidad* relates that the climate had changed from a land of "seven months of summer and five months of winter. The evil being, Anra-Mainyu, full of death, created a mighty serpent, and winter... ten months of winter are there, two months of summer."

Some of the Aryans moved south into the Continent of India, others moved west into Europe. They left settlements, farms and cattle. The Teutons carried with them the knowledge of their old household and agricultural peasant society.

The Teutons called themselves simply (as all Peoples do, it seems) "Thiot" — the People. Long before Jesus Christ, there were Scots and Picts of Britain, Norsemen, Goths and the restless tribes of central Europe: Thuringians, Burgundians, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Gepidae, Quadi, Vandals, Allemani, Suevi, Lombards, Franks...

These were the Teutons of antiquity, the barbarians of the hinterlands menacing Roman Civilization. By sheer pressure of numbers, they forced their way into the Roman Empire.

One hundred years before Christ, two tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones, rolled south in covered wagons and 300,000 fighting men, with women and children and animals. After five centuries of successive invasions by the Teutons, the edges of the Roman Empire finally crumbled during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The women were fertile, and the people spread over the European continent. Eventually, they crossed oceans to spawn Teutonic cultures on almost all parts of the globe — Asia, Africa, India, America, Australia.

Teutonic lore has been transmitted by means of Runes, Skaldic Poems, the Eddas, and the Sagas. Everywhere in Europe, the early records, the traditions, the songs and stories, were obliterated by the priests of Christianity who felt a bitter hatred for the paganism they had come to destroy. It is extraordinary how clean a sweep they were able to make.

The tribes had no cities. They lived scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood attracted them. Their villages were arranged with an open space surrounding every dwelling. There were many extremely war-like tribes, but also, in the northern parts of the Teutonic domains which were densely populated, a number of peace-loving tribes who (according to a Roman historian of the First Century A.D.) "would maintain their

I recommend for your inspiration and discussion the section "Some Principles of Proper Cultural Development" in the document issued by Vatican Council II, "The Church in the Modern World".

The Rev. Peter A. Nearing
Madonna House
Combermere, Ontario K0J 1L0

greatness by righteous dealings... The crowning proof of their valour and strength is that they keep up their superiority without harm to others. Yet all have weapons in readiness, and an army if necessary, with a multitude of men and horses, and even while at peace, they have the same renown of valour."

One tribe was described as "strangely beast-like and squalidly poor — neither arms nor home have they. Their food is herbs, their clothing, skins, their bed the earth. They trust wholly to their arrows, which, for want of iron, are pointed with bone."

The Teutons were never subdued and enjoyed an excessive independence. About minor matters, their chiefs and kings deliberated, but about the more important, the whole tribe needed to be consulted. Sometimes two or three days were needed to assemble the people. "Then the king or chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears."

"In these same councils they also elect the chief magistrates, who administer the law in the cantons and the towns."

These people were parted by marshes, lakes, and forests, and they were fond of such separations. Their dread of the Romans brought about their reunion, and yet, as historians have noted, in strife-torn Europe of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, independent free peasants formed the largest class of Teutonic Society. Even by the 8th Century, Anglo-Saxon England remained "characterized by large masses of free peasants."

Land is the People's common treasury. It is the indispensable, absolutely necessary and essential factor of human existence. The earth, in its intimate relationship with all things (from solar systems outside our knowledge to micro-organisms beyond our senses) provides sustenance to all its life. It is drawn from the soil, either directly or indirectly. Free access to the land provides the means of producing the essentials to survival: nourishment and shelter. The animal, vegetable, and mineral of the planet give People food, medicine, tools, clothing and housing.

Wherever we can trace the early history of society, whether in Asia, in Europe, in Africa, in America or in Polynesia, land has been considered as common property. The Great Law of Peace of the Longhouse People, the Iroquois League, stated likewise: "The soil of the earth from one end to the other is the property of the People who inhabit it... The same law has been held from the oldest time."

The principle of law provides the general rule of conduct. Teutonic law was based on the principle that law resided in the folk, that the law was the custom of the community, and neither king nor chief could change this law without the assent of the community.

Already in ancient times, it was held that there existed certain rights to which all people are entitled. The denial of such rights was regarded as an affront to natural law. The primary principle of natural law is a simple, but self-evident "Do good, avoid evil." It is the faith of Teutonic tradition that demands freedom: personal liberty and self-rule.

The Teutons foiled Roman military might over centuries of Imperialist campaigns from Italy. To the tribes of antiquity goes the honor of having preserved Teutonic culture and tradition from desecration by Roman organization, government, culture, perhaps language. Like the Teuton ancestors of old, a new peasantry is now advancing in reckless health on the usurpers, ebbing in sterile comfort, who have abrogated the power of the People unto themselves.

Albert Burger
Faust, Alberta

The South Dakota Pen Again

NOTES: I'm writing to bring the people up to date on what's happening here in the South Dakota State Penitentiary. The situation here is critical. We are in desperate need of help, especially legal help such as attorneys.

January 9, fourteen Indian brothers were sent to isolation charged with assault. The following day, Herb Powless and Curtis Bald Eagle were also taken to isolation, on mere hearsay and totally unsubstantiated lies and accusations by the administration, which said they were ring leaders. So far, Curtis Bald Eagle has been charged with inciting a riot. On January 9, two guards were supposedly assaulted by these 14 Indian brothers. The events leading up to this incident were caused and created by the prison administration. We have come to the conclusion that continued acts of racism will no longer be tolerated. The administration and their guards daily harass and undermine native people, and that must come to an end.

The administration has continued to try to block the efforts of the newly-founded Native American Culture Program here. They have tried to break the spirit of the Native American inmates by continued write-ups by guards, threatening inmates with isolation or loss of good-time. We have virtually no representation on the parole board. By examining the records of parole, it will be obvious as to how many native Americans were paroled against those non-Indians who were paroled — the facts will speak for themselves. The brothers in isolation are suffering cruel and unusual punishment needlessly. There is no heating in the hole, and not enough blankets to keep adequately warm at night. The temperature at night has been well below zero for the past several weeks. We can only imagine the hardships our brothers are suffering.

All this could be prevented if the administration was as concerned about rehabilitation as they say they are. It seems all this administration is concerned with is the degrading and demoralizing of the native American inmates to control us so that they can continue to stifle our efforts to better ourselves so that we can lead meaningful lives as human beings upon release.

We are not the only ones who suffer oppression here — last week, a non-Indian brother took his own life. He hung himself in his cell down in isolation. He had been continually harassed by guards until he could find no other way of escape except his own death. It is truly a sad situation.

We wish to have this letter published so that the people will know the truth and that we continue to struggle against oppression and racism of this institution. We are in desperate need of an outside advocate for us so that the people will know the truth. We will appreciate any help available to us.

The Native Brothers
South Dakota State Penitentiary
POBox 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57104

It Costs 13 Cents

PEOPLE: I'm writing to make a suggestion. It seems that writing to political leaders of the U.S. has helped when many persons take part in it.

The U.S. Government has a new president and administration. So there is new hope. Along with prayers and letters from people, it is possible that those now in power could be honest and have good hearts.

I'm going to write Jimmy Carter on my feelings about treaties and sovereignty for Indian People. My suggestion is that others do the same also.

Steve Wright
Apache Junction, Arizona

The Jewish Lunisolar Calendar

FRIENDS: I just received a copy of the Native American Calendar for 1977. It is a beautiful calendar, and is the apparent product of a great deal of dedicated and careful work.

Although I was born and raised a Jew, I did not realize that the Jewish calendar was a lunisolar calendar. Jewish festivals like Pass-over begin on the first day of the spring new moon. The months of the year are related to the other moons, just as in your calendar. In addition, the festivals are related to the moons of the seasons. Living in the country, I can understand why people lived by the moons. When you live in the city, you hardly know one moon from another. The Encyclopedia Judaica gives more information about the Jewish calendar, which is in its 5,738th year.

Allon Schoener
Grafton, Vermont

NOTES: Thank you for the articles on the FBI informers, and your courageous reporting of Cable Splicer. The latter article was a great one, and one that should be read by every American. Cable Splicer was especially interesting to us, because in 1970, Susan Saxe uncovered a similar plan, but for the Northeast/Boston, called "Geronimo Bravo." It was a plan by the government for martial law to be imposed on the citizenry if the need arose.

Martha Kearns
Philadelphia, Pa.

Support For Big Mac From Kansas

NOTES: I am Junior Wishteyah of the Indian Culture Group here in the Kansas State Penitentiary.

My reason for writing these comments is to give moral support to the Indians down in the State Penitentiary at McAlester, Oklahoma.

They are in dire need of support — so let's see what can be done for their needs and their desire to be allowed to organize.

I know what it is to be in here looking out, and still have to be hassled. I've been through it, and probably will have to again, but when an Indian asks for support — Let's at least try to give it.

If there's a will, there is a way, and the Indians in Big Mac have the will, so now let's try to help them find the way.

Junior Wishteyah 7688
POBox 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043

letters from prison

Legal Expenses Needed

NOTES: I need money to obtain an attorney so I can have my case brought back to trial with the hope in mind that I would be able to have the two present sentences consolidated, making me eligible for a parole hearing sometime this year. In order to accomplish this, money is required — not a large sum, but it does require approximately \$200. I ask all of you to help me in any way that you can, no matter how small a way it may be. If there are enough people who really care, then I will be able to accomplish a great deal. I'm sure that some readers will help me in my attempt at regaining my freedom. I wish all of you good health.

Ron Ohiyesa Gaffney
POBox 137
Tillery, North Carolina 27887



The Cornish of Europe

NOTES: I and my friends in the Cornish Nationalist Party find your journal very interesting. It is quite an inspiration for us working to establish the rights of the ancient Celtic nation of Cornwall.

As Christine Quintle says in your Late Autumn issue, the Bretons of Brittany are one of the oppressed nations of Europe. She forgot to mention that they are also one of the six Celtic nations — the others being Scotland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Wales and Cornwall.

The Celts are one of the ancient races of Europe, and for a time, just before the Roman Empire, they dominated the continent. Many European river and place-names are of Celtic derivation, and go back to this period. The Cornish of Cornwall were one of the first Celtic nations to succumb to the English, and had to accept English suzerainty from the 10th Century A.D.

But there is a growing interest in our ancient Celtic culture and identity today. The Cornish Nationalist Party seeks to gain political recognition of the Cornish Nation. The Cornish language, which had gone out of general use in the 18th Century, is reviving amongst us. We see the language as the basis of our national identity. As an old Cornish saying goes, "an lavar coth yu lavar gwyr — Byth dawn re ver dhe'n tavas re hyr, Mes den hep tavas a-gollas y dyr." (Still true the ancient saw will stand — too long a tongue, too short a hand, the tongueless man, though, lost his land.

Kernow bys vyken (Cornwall forever),
Dr. James Whetter, Chairman
Cornish Nationalist Party
Trelispen, Gorran
St. Austell, Kernow/Cornwall
(British Isles)

Rekindling Sparks in Prison

OUR BROTHERS & SISTERS: We wish to give you all our sincerest thanks for remembering us and sending your gift of newspapers to us. It is extremely important to us that we maintain contact with our people.

Through the help of your paper and other gifts, we have rekindled a spark of pride in ourselves as native people who had been smothered by the dreary atmosphere prevalent to institution life. In spite of the mistakes we have made in the past, the continuing patience and love of our brothers and sisters has inspired us to begin anew.

Tona Mason, President
Native Sons
Guelph Correctional Center
POBox 3600
Guelph, Ontario N1H 6P3

Seminole Leader Still In Prison

NOTES: I would like to comment on my illegal incarceration. I am of the Sovereign Seminole Nation, and under the laws of that Nation, my incarceration is illegal, because U.S. District Judge Joseph Morris assumed jurisdiction under the laws of the United States. The laws of the Seminole Nation of Indian Territory, which was established by Treaty, has jurisdiction and priority over U.S. law.

In the case of *Harjo v. Kleppe*, U.S. District Judge William Bryant recognized the virtual sovereignty of the Creek Nation, the Creek Nation of Indian Territory, as having jurisdiction in its territory.

Article VI, paragraph 2, of the U.S. Constitution, says "This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof, and all Treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the Land, and the Judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This article would void all Articles, Amendments and Laws which conflict with it. In other words, laws which interfere with sovereign rights reserved by treaties have no legal force in Law. American Indian Treaty Claims for jurisdiction within their respective Indian Territories are valid. The United States, a friendly neighboring Nation, has no jurisdiction within the original boundary of Indian Territory, as stated in the Treaties.

I appeal to you, the readers, to write to the President to release those Sovereign Indians who have been illegally incarcerated. Cite the Supreme Law of the Land as the Authority, as stated in the United States Constitution, for demanding the release of the Sovereign Treaty Indians to the custody and jurisdiction of the Sovereign Indian Territories of their respective tribes.

Johnson Warledo, Traditional Medicine Man
Post Office Box 4000 39681-115
Springfield, Missouri 65802

[NOTES readers are asked also to ask the President or the U.S. Attorney General to review this case to see if the Seminole Treaty Council members now imprisoned were the victims of manufactured evidence and entrapment. See volume 8, no. 2, of AKWESASNE NOTES, page 18, for a full description of this case. The Editors.]

In The Centre of Madness

NOTES: It's interesting for me to read what's going on in America. It seems to be the same as in the whole world — a huge jail built up by fools. We live here in a small land not much bigger than three of the National Parks of the U.S., divided from our ancient homes through a line of death with walls, barbed wires, mines, automatic guns, atomic rockets, tanks, and a huge army. My own relatives are, in the official language, my 'enemies'. The western part is filled by 60 millions of people, most of them totally ill and foolish.

Rivers, air and lakes are poisoned. There are no ten miles without asphalt highways. You've no possibility to sow and live from that, for every tiny part of the land is 'owned' by someone, and you've to pay taxes for everything you do. You see, we are in the centre of madness.

To change that situation, we need powers which are long forgotten, or the help of white magicians. If we don't succeed in this task, this land will become a desert from that atomic energies which are only created to destroy.

Once this land was a free paradise — now it's hell. The white man has become his own devil. Unfortunately, he spread his seed over the whole world. But also, in this madmen centre are many, many young and older people awaiting the changes coming soon, to get back in the Circle of Life created by the Great Spirit. With love from Germany,

Lutz-Olaf
Hornbach, Germany

The Odyssey of Jack Cody

GREETINGS: I'll try to explain things the best I can.

The whole thing started in 1970, when I was in Campechi, Mexico. I was visiting our brothers down there. I was arrested in Ozuna, Texas, as I came back across the border. I was accused of smuggling drugs, but none was found, so myself and another brother were beaten and released.

I returned to Cherokee, N.C., my home, and for the next three years I just traveled and spoke at different places for native American rights. My arrest came in September of 1974 in Birmingham, Alabama. The Federals put 31 charges on me, ranging from gun violations to auto transport. I made bond from jail in Alabama, Florida, Tennessee before I was released, and in March of 1975, I went to court in Knoxville, California, to Tampa, Florida. I went to court 7 times on transporting a motor home from Needles, California, to Tampa, Florida. The Government brought people from California, El Paso, and Florida to testify at my case, but no one could identify me, so on the last day of court, the Federal Government paid a snitch named James Hale to testify against me. I was convicted, and Judge Taylor gave me a maximum of five years on the case. He said the reason was because I was causing the Government so much trouble and money, for by that time, I had beaten all my charges except the one I was convicted on and two gun charges. Even though I was not guilty, I pleaded guilty on the gun charges — even had I fought the gun cases, I would still have been convicted, and Judge Taylor would have given me ten more years, so I pleaded guilty and received an additional two years.

I was sent to Terre Haute, Indiana, and was placed in an all-white cell-block, where I ended up getting into a hassle with the whites. Motivated by the prison staff, I was stabbed twelve times, and the guys who cut me didn't even go to court. I was then shipped over to Springfield — and the guys that I fought with are here also. I have filed a suit on that incident.

After I got here, I became eligible for parole. According to the federal parole law, I had achieved all the goals and guide lines set for me, but when I went up for parole, the board said I had 31 other cases I could have been tried on, and refused me parole. I don't have any detainers pending on my records. On my FBI "rap sheet" it said I had a sub-machine gun — I was never even arrested for that, yet the parole board still considered that false information!

I appealed to the regional parole board, and they denied me also. Carter Camp and myself drew up an appeal to the national board in Washington, and by their law, they had to answer my appeal in 60 days, but it has been over 100 days and they still haven't answered my appeal.

I have been struggling since I was 13 years old. My family lived on Dark Ridge, a mountain positioned on the Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee line. But when I was young, the U.S. Government took my family to court and took all our land to turn it into the Cumberland Gap National Park.

I sit here in prison, and I read NOTES, where my people are getting run over by the Government, and I wonder how much longer our people can survive. Every Indian leader who tries to help his people ends up in prison.

I was married to a Comanche woman, and we have three small kids. She was forced to divorce me so she would be able to draw government money to raise our children on while I am in prison. She is trying to raise three children on two hundred dollars a month. Her address is Brenda Cody at Route 8, Box 435, Campbell Acres, Morristown, Tennessee 37814. She could use some help.

My attorney's address is Toby Hollander, 3522 Arsenal St., St. Louis, Missouri 63118 — funds are needed for my legal case.

Letters could also be sent to the U.S. Parole Board, Washington, D.C., on my behalf.

I would like to hear the problems from the different reservations. I want to thank NOTES for their efforts in aiding all of our people, because through unity is our only hope of regaining our sovereignty.

Jack Cody, POW 22140-149
POBox 4000
Springfield, Missouri 65802

NOTES: I was recently in Raleigh, N.C., and saw the bulletin board of a church. It stated the usual "hours of worship" but below this was a statement that made me feel both laughter and sadness towards the people who put it there. It read thus:

"Evening Worship Cancelled
Due To Energy Crisis"

No more need be said.

Dawit Karonhiawakon
Pembroke, N.C.

NOTES: You and the members of the NOTES staff have been like a family to me in this virtually non-Indian existence I've been living. It fills my heart with joy to know that my people care for one another. I await the day for all our people to know this happiness. I have experienced the joy of receiving; now I will have the joy of giving.

John Chickogee
Charleston, West Virginia

Ray Shackleton /1
RD 1, Box 146
Bristol, Vermont 05443



Tourist/Home Movies

"And here's one of an Indian
Selling Ralph a trinket —
I suppose he'll use the money
To Buy some wine and drink it."
Tourist, do you also
Tour the Black Man's slums
Photographing winos,
Photographing bums?
Do you really think you're welcome,
Do you really think it's funny
The things that starving people do
For little bits of money?
Do you see the anger?
Do you see the pain?
That says in silence "Go away
And don't come back again."

— Bob Bacon

To Nina

"Muchas cosas suceden y muy doloras antes del triunfo
de la revolucion."

How deeply do the scars burn in?
How deeply do your eyes reflect
that catatonic bite of pain
and even after years
where does the colour settle in
stillness unseen?

Indian children search past,
dipping paddles and moving over the lake
pool of pain
how clear, how deep
to shadowy rippled sands submerged
while the surface smile or scream
created by wind
while tone or hue
painted by strokes of brush
dipped in moon
or noon

seek to blend the pain into new skys of hope.

Take love in your hands
and wipe its fragrant ointment o'er your face
ask your Indian children

to sing to Mother Corn
Mother Corn, to find the seed of your sister
child who is declared enemy
enemy, before she knows to mourn,
but is weeping
sensing the strong arms are no more.

The wind and Mother Corn
Come up against a wall
a wall we run from
a wall we hide from
the wall we paint graffiti on
the wall the colonels pee on
the wall that decays but stands
the wall that separates the militant lovers
from the militant haters
and do as usual/do everyday/what is useless

What is separate from daily useful struggle?
What is separate from daily collective love?
What is separate from daily strategy to make space
for more sisters and brothers to act their love?

Militant haters daily stalking anew
new militant lovers

the wall
the wall bears scars of assassins' bullets
and earth brown blood
of those anonymous militant lovers.

The fresco on that wall
washed after each rain, exhibit in your daily mind
sparks the eruption of pain,
must set a pace
move us more
and some who will take their place before the wall.

Dip the bread in the rainwater
touch your tears
watch the eyes of your Indian children
touch hands
and begin a drama on the other side of the wall.

— Zoe Best

Of Rainbows

ger!

an

in

k,

all

Why don't you
all
go back where
you came from?

I heard their
hate and stopped.

While the noble
africano in me
screamed for
blood,
and the fierce caribe in me
counseled same,

the wise
hauraco in me
calmed them both
saying:

Walk proud, my son,
and pay no heed
to poisons uttered
by false tongues
it's nought but
pain
of those souls
cursed
with the pale plague

Nosotros indios
were here first
and will be last
but in the
interval between
we must be strong.

They only hate
because they'll
never make
un arcoiris.

I turned and
walked away
thinking of rainbows.

— L. Moreno 31257
Box 51

Comstock, New York 12821



1,000,001 STARLINGS

& white folks freakin
as starlings & blackbirds
congregate & talk things over
holding their Unity Conference

eat away every bit of food & leaf
& shit on anything left over
til it looks like a winter
thats never gonna end . . .
& when the sun comes out
it smells like its Never gonna end
they're raising a stink, these birds
over these white folks freakin
its called a taste
a taste of your own medicine

— Karoniaktatie
MCC Native Perspective



granma crowdog
she sits over there
in her chair
smoking a cigarette
and waving her hands as she talks
(a wise old lady voice)
and tells me of the things of her life
and asks me where ive been and who died that i should cut my hair
and why dont i stay around this time instead of going round with
them young ones from up there on rosebud and the roads are icy
and its cold outside and why dont you stay tonight cause if you
went tonight and got into accident, roads are too icy, woman just
down the road here just last night got run over, she was drinking.
you dont drink do you?
no granma.
well, thats good. drinking no good.
(silence, the crackling of the wood stove, fragrance of hot tea
with four teaspoons of sugar, well stirred)
well granma, i have to go now
Atta! its too cold and icy. you will stay.
i arise and go over and kiss her soft wrinkled cheek.
she looks at me sideways and says come back soon.

i never should have left.

— earth lodge woman

We must tread very softly, eyes cast down. You
don't have to ask what we are looking for. A long time ago
you got the land and our realm fell in pieces
into the great and empty world. Be
happy, if you can. Only don't ask us what we are yearning for.
Somewhere corals are building archipelagos
on summits of drowned mountains. Don't
as you see us stand on the coast and look
far away, ask what we are waiting for. Children
know how to carve boats and sometimes
thunder rises from the direction of the sea, as if
an egg shell were breaking so that the young bird can hatch. You
don't have to think about bones. These
have become earth, and one must tread on earth very softly. All
has been paid for and forgotten a long time ago. A lot
of land became vacant. Forget.

Let us remember and the soil will remember.
King Philip. Pontiac. Tecumseh. Osceola.
Names too odd for memorizing. Land
is yours and so is the realm. Maybe you'll manage. Don't
ask us

what to seek, what to hope, what to wait for.
Long, long ago our realm fell to pieces.
Narragansett. Susquehanna. Chemehuevi. Mattole.
Names too long. Names too strange. Don't
then ask us what we remember. Coastlines
are seen far into the sea. In the blood-red,
bloody glow. Before our time, after your time
corals build new islands and lands.

Reflection above depths; question which will not be answered.
Who knew how to discover us and our land, after ourselves?
It is no longer the accusation. It is not yet the verdict. Why
then are you ashamed, why are you afraid? We
will not go and be witnesses. Tell
the same thing you tell your children. Maybe the tribunal
will believe you. You have nothing to be afraid of. If
the axe in the shed is sometimes red in rainy weather, it's
only rust. Those

in front of whom you should be ashamed are earth. These too,
of whom you should be ashamed are earth.
David Williamson. Andrew Jackson. Buffalo Bill. But you
could still be happy. Don't be afraid,
we have too much to remember, even so. And sometimes
when standing on the shore, one can see how the thunder
breaks its shell and starts flying. We
must tread very softly, eyes cast down, for sometimes
a tractor unearths from the black depths
children's bones and arrowheads. But
there are no witnesses. The dead
are good Indians. Marry.
Get children. Kill. Try
to be happy. Try to be happy if you can.

— Jaan Kaplinski

translated by R. Taagepera

[Jaan Kaplinski is a young Estonian poet, whose knowledge of persecution of man
and nature has been sharpened by his knowledge of his own nation, Estonia, a part
of the Soviet Union at this point in time. While he is not allowed to travel to the
Americas, his spirit is free and has been with us. We are grateful to him for his
poetry, and to Dr. Taagepera for this translation. This poem is from Kaplinski's
collection, "Out of Dust and Colors." The Editors.]

[All poetry appearing in AKWESASNE NOTES has been sent to us for consideration by our
readers. Selection from among the hundreds of poems received each month is difficult.
While poets may not always feel that we have made the best selection, at least we can assure
that selections are made with consideration of balance, appeal, craftsmanship, and quality,
and not simply because a person is well-known to us. Most poets submit a number of poems
for an editor's consideration, and this enhances the likelihood of an acceptance. Poems
are returned when they are no longer being considered for publication. We encourage all
readers/poets to send us their work for consideration. The Editors.]